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THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

FROM THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY
TO THE TIME OF GREGORY THE GREAT

BY

ANDREW STEPHENSON, A.M., PH.D.
Sometime Professor of History in DePaul University

FOUR VOLUMES

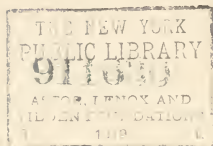
VOLUME ONE



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TO
MY WIFE
WHOSE CONFIDENCE AND COOPERATION
THROUGHOUT THE LONG YEARS
HAVE MADE THIS WORK
POSSIBLE

PREFACE

It is the purpose of the author of this work to trace the origin and growth of Christianity from its beginning in Galilee, to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which closed the first period of the Reformation. Numerous church histories we have, and their number is yearly being added to, but few, if any, give sufficient of the political and social history of the times to make their work profitable and interesting to the ordinary reader. Then, again, the history of the Christian church is very far from being the history of Christianity, although it has usually been so considered. Heretical sects carried the cross throughout the east and succeeded in the conversion of many tribes and nations where the orthodox church had failed to make an impression. The great Germanic nations were converted through the labors of Arian missionaries at a time when the church was spending all its energies in controversies concerning the nature, the person, and the wills of Christ, in the meantime allowing the barbarian and heathen nations which surrounded the Roman Empire to die without hearing one word concerning the life and teachings of the great Master. The spread of Christianity in northern Africa was largely due to the activity of missionaries outside of the established church.

Christianity has ever been a tremendous moving and vitalizing power but it has been moulded and even transformed by the national characteristics of the peoples among whom it has been introduced. This fact makes its history exceedingly complex. It was one thing in its early stages among the Jews and kindred races. It was something quite different among the cultured and philosophic Greeks. It was again transformed by the conquering and formal Romans into an imposing state religion, stripped of its evangelistic spirit, and organized into a cold, logical, and dogmatic

institution. It adapted itself to the camps and villages of the barbarian Germans and Slavs. Today it is on the threshold of the greatest of all its transformations. Like every other living thing it is subject to the law of growth.

The present history is the outcome of twenty-five years of experience in teaching church history to college classes and the method and substance of the work have been tested out quite thoroughly in the class room. The result has been at least a reasonable degree of success. The writer hopes that this work will prove to be an aid in quickening interest in this greatest of all subjects, a knowledge of which has heretofore very largely confined itself to theologians and college professors.

Rockford, Illinois,

February 15, 1919.

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FIRST PERIOD

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF
CHRISTIANITY TO THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE,
325 A. D.

THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

BOOK I

CHRISTIANITY IN THE FIRST CENTURY

THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

CHAPTER I

THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS SETTING OF CHRISTIANITY

THE student of history, whether political, religious, or industrial, long ago learned that history has no isolated periods; that all divisions are more or less arbitrary and artificial. Some one has said that "history is the record of human life and all its streams so intermingle that to trace one without a knowledge of all is impossible." Certain it is that the history of Christianity is so intimately interwoven with the political and social life of the people of the various nations among whom Christianity has spread, that it can not be understood in its origin and growth save as an inseparable part of that life. As Christianity arose within the Graeco-Roman world we must of necessity examine and become acquainted with the chief characteristics of the civilization of this world as a background for the study of the beginnings of Christianity. Some account must be taken of the great Hellenistic empire of Alexander and the powerful kingdoms into which it broke upon its founder's death in 323 B. C.

A new epoch in ancient history is ushered in by the work of Alexander the Great. This new epoch may in a sense be said to begin with Philip's victory at Chaeronea, in 338 B. C., which resulted in the overthrow of the Free Cities of Greece and their consolidation into a strong monarchy. Alexander was chosen king upon the death of his father, in 336, and

with his father's soldiers, which he was thus made heir to, started upon his career of conquest. He put an end to Persian rule by defeating Darius in the battles of Issus and Arbela, in 333 and 331 B. C. respectively, and found himself master of the old Persian empire besides being king of Macedonia and Greece. He completed his conquests by passing into Syria and Egypt. While here he founded, in his honor, the city of Alexandria which was destined to become the chief city of his empire as well as a most important center of culture in later times. In the spring of 331 he set out for the last, passing through Syria and Mesopotamia on his way and reaching the Tigris River on September 20, after an uninterrupted march of six months. Here his Macedonian troops made an easy conquest of the army of Darius on its last stand. Alexander pushed on through the rich Babylonian lands to Susa, and thence to the tablelands of Iran, where he captured the royal city of Persepolis with the vast stores of wealth of the Persian kings. Media and Parthia fell to him without a struggle and he pushed on toward India, the goal of his ambition. In 328 he entered Bactria, and in 327 he spent the summer in India, passing over the Indus and establishing his dominion in the Punjab. His troops refused to go farther, so he turned southward following the Indus River to the sea. This may be considered as the completion of his conquests. He led his army back to Susa, in the spring of 324, where he tarried to organize his vast territory. In the spring of the following year he marched to Babylon where he made great preparations for a campaign into Arabia. But all his vast plans came suddenly to an end as he sickened and died in June, 323 B. C. In his short life he had brought under his own sway, and that too, with an army of less than 40,000 men, the whole eastern world. "Under Alexander the Great all the country from Greece on the west to the Indus on the east, from the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea on the north to the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and Egypt on the south had been made one kingdom."

Alexander did not aim simply at conquest, but, rather, sought to establish both political and national unification by a process of fusion. He wished to spread everywhere Greek

civilization and business methods. To accomplish these things his plans were far-reaching. He surveyed the great water ways and opened up traffic by this means between Egypt and the far East. He established a system of great roads leading from his new commercial city of Alexandria and from Jerusalem to Susa, Babylon, Persepolis and the Punjab. These roads were not simply military as were the Roman roads of subsequent times, but commercial; and along them began immediately to pass great caravans, bearing westward the precious fabrics, jewels and spices of the East, and eastward what Greece and the Occident had to offer in exchange. Along these roads new cities sprung up as if by magic, and became centers of Greek life and culture. But Alexander did not trust to chance and natural causes to forward his plans of fusion. He established colonies of his soldiers in all important places and required them as much as possible to marry native women and become thoroughly established in their new homes. This method he required his generals to follow and married them to princesses and nobility of the nations which he conquered. Schools were everywhere established in which Greek language, arts, and literature were taught. To quicken commercial exchange Alexander established colonies of Jews in all important commercial centers. While Alexander gave great attention to the political organization of his vast empire and to carrying out his social and industrial plans, he did not neglect religion. In this matter his policy was to respect and conserve the religion of the conquered peoples. The Egyptians received him with joy as a deliverer from the Persians and the oracle of Ammon declared him to be a son of the god. Josephus reports the same sympathy on Alexander's part toward the religion of the Jews. Here it is said that he offered a sacrifice in the temple. His tolerance was quite similar to that which subsequently characterized the Romans. He put forth no effort to control in matters of religion, but left each conquered people to worship as they saw fit.

In matters of government it was Alexander's custom to appoint *strategoi* (governors) over different provinces of the empire whose powers were limited only by the central gov-

ernment. Upon his death this plan was continued. The *strategoi* were for the most part left in office and Alexander's infant son and his weak-minded brother Philip Arrhidaeus were made joint kings under the regency of Perdicas, a distinguished general of Alexander's army to whom the latter had given his ring just before his death. As might be expected this arrangement proved wholly inadequate, and after a period of civil war the empire broke up into three grand divisions or kingdoms: Macedonia and Greece were held by Antigonos and his successors; the Asiatic provinces fell to the Seleucids; and the Ptolemies established themselves in Egypt. The Macedonian kingdom was ruled by Antigonos and his descendants until it was dismembered by Rome in 168, and finally converted into a Roman province in 148 B. C. Seleucus, one of the four great generals of Alexander, was made satrap of Babylonia upon the death of Alexander and, in the civil wars, succeeded in overthrowing Antigonos Cyclops in the battle of Gaza in 312 and establishing himself as king over the Asiatic portion of the empire. He founded Antioch on the Orontes as his capital. His descendants were constantly engaged in strife either with native princes, with the Ptolemies of Egypt or with the kings of Macedonia. Finally Antiochus XIII was overthrown by Pompey in 64 B. C. and Syria became a Roman province. Ptolemy, satrap of Egypt, had an easier task than his rivals, as his territory was much less difficult to govern. He gave his attention to developing the commercial possibilities of his dominions and so controlling the commerce of the eastern Mediterranean. Egypt was generally on good terms with Rome and acted as her ally, but the ambition of warlike Rome could not long brook a rival on the coast of the Mediterranean and consequent impediment to her complete conquest of the East. So soon, therefore, as she had overcome her dangerous enemies in Macedonia and Asia, she deposed the Ptolemaic dynasty and converted Egypt into a province, in 30 B. C. So passed the last fragment of the Alexandrian empire three hundred years after its founding. It has been absorbed into that greater empire that has arisen in the west.

In the first days of the Roman empire Roman rule was

thoroughly established eastward to the Euphrates River and the borders of Arabia. Eastern nations quickly found that government under the strong and efficient hand of Rome was much more successful in maintaining peace than that of Alexander's successors had been. Political unity and stable government had at last taken the place of the chaotic conditions that had formerly held sway throughout the peoples of the Mediterranean basin. What Alexander commenced, Rome completed.

When Rome finally overthrew and absorbed the various Greek kingdoms into which the Alexandrian empire had been broken, she did not destroy what Alexander had accomplished. The process of unification was still going on, and while government had passed from the hands of the Greeks, civilization was still theirs. Their work had produced a distinct type of world culture. Macedonia had become quite thoroughly Hellenized before Alexander had made of it a world-power. Aristotle was the tutor of Alexander, having been brought by Philip to Pella for that purpose. Even before Philip's time, Macedonian rulers had introduced Greek literature and art at their courts and claimed to be themselves Greeks. But with Alexander the expansion became much more general and took on many new forms. Of these one of the most important was the cosmopolitanism that broke up Greek exclusiveness and intolerance toward foreigners and taught them to have respect for the people of other nations. Artisans and merchants from the Orient were to be found in every Greek city of importance, bringing with them the products of their skill and introducing the culture of the East, but Greeks travelled into foreign lands and discovered that the world could no longer be thought to coincide with the boundaries of Ancient Hellas. Alexander had founded many new Greek cities at numerous points throughout his empire. These were surrounded and even partly populated by peoples of other nationalities. Greeks were intimately associated with these commercially and were in this manner broadened in their sympathies. This policy on Alexander's part had a marked influence on the Orientals. Their culture was no longer despised and suppressed by their con-

queror, but, instead, given ampler fields for expansion and activity. The stability of Greek rule enabled the Asiatics to exhibit their industrial and commercial genius and pursue such callings without interruption or interference of any kind, while their adoption of the Greek language made them at home in all points of the world. This fusion of Greeks and Orientals tended to break down and obliterate the old national and race distinctions. The new civilization was not Oriental; neither was it wholly Hellenic. It has, instead, been called Hellenistic.

When the Greek rule was overthrown and Roman dominion took its place, little change in civilization was instituted. The cultural lines laid down in previous ages were still followed; social and religious customs were left untouched and fusing tendencies worked more effectively than ever before. The Romans themselves were Hellenized and "Captive Greece took her fierce conqueror captive and introduced her arts into mystic Latium."

Society in the Graeco-Roman world was extremely diversified, not only because of the fusion of races given above, but also by reason of the wide difference between the stations in life of individuals. From the time of Alexander to that of the Roman empire, there was a distinct court life centering about the despotic ruler. This was generally vicious in the extreme but it had some redeeming features. The early Macedonian kings had introduced culture to their courts. To this Alexander added many oriental adornments as well as evil customs from the Persian court. The successors to Alexander were frequently men of letters, and interested in the literary and scientific pursuits of the day. This was especially true of the Seleucid dynasty which had its capital at Antioch on the Orontes. In addition to the cities of Greece where men of culture and scholarship still assembled, Antioch in Syria, and Alexandria in Egypt, had founded seats of learning supported by royal patronage. These were centers for the study of philosophy with the kindred subjects of rhetoric, mathematics, and medicine. In addition to the court with its favorites and officers scattered throughout the empire, there was a large class of fairly prosperous citizens who by

diligence and ability had made their way in the world without court favor or patronage. The Hellenistic age with the added advantages it afforded as well as the enlarged field for action, gave great opportunities to such men. It was pre-eminently the age of the individual. The old city-state absorbed the individual into its own life so that he simply lived in and for the state. But a world-empire was too large and too independent of the individual support to call out any feeling of personal loyalty and service. Under the old régime, the State was everything, the individual, nothing. Under the world-empire régime, the motive and effort of the individual were all for self. Many citizens profited by this opportunity and won for themselves great wealth. This was distinctly a commercial age and was governed by commercial ideas, but it was also an age of intellectual activity. The Stoic philosophy was dominant and flourishing, but the Stoics philosophized for the sake of man and were intensely realistic. The sciences were differentiated from philosophy where they had originally belonged and were given a practical and empirical trend. Rhetoric was cultivated as a means of earning a living and not simply to give form and beauty to expression. The poets wrote to please the court, and so gave an ephemeral popularity, rather than an exalted abstract ideal. Historians no longer recorded fanciful legends and miraculous tales to please the children of an heroic age, but gathered facts by long and careful research and recorded them that truth might live rather than listening ears be ravished with fanciful and pleasing fables. "And, as for religion, the type most in demand was the one which gave the individual the most positive and realistic assurances of his own personal salvation. This whole tendency toward individualism and realism was part of the spirit of the age which produced a class of industrious, self-reliant, and, often, prosperous citizens."

Under this system of competitive individualism there grew up a wealthy class that controlled the commerce and industry of the world and, in the last days of the Roman republic, driven to agricultural pursuits, monopolized land ownership and crushed the small agriculturalists and reduced them to the

condition of the proletariat. There now grew up, by reason of this competitive system, a large and continually increasing body of destitute people who, in competition with slave labor, were utterly unable to support themselves, and so became objects of charity. The old-time sturdy body of freemen who lived in independent frugality, and made the backbone of society, was gone, and in its stead arose a heterogeneous mass of many nationalities alike only in their poverty and degradation. This condition of society did not pass unnoticed. The political authorities undertook the alleviation of this distress as a police measure and aided the poor by means of free distribution of corn. Common needs drew various classes together into guilds, social groups, and religious brotherhoods. Stoic preachers taught men to endure hardship with courage. Religion now came to the front and offered its consolations and promises to a needy and oppressed humanity.

The Graeco-Roman age produced no single religion. It was contented to inherit and transform the religions of past ages but it was not able to reshape the multitude of religions which it received by legacy into one dominant religion. When Macedonia conquered Asia it had no national faith to impose upon the conquered people, but both Asia and Egypt had numerous religions firmly rooted and these continued to hold their ground after the completion of the conquest. The Orient supplied to the new civilization some of its most important religious functions. The Romans received this religious inheritance almost intact from the Macedonians. Thus it came to pass that while the Romans were teaching their science of government to the East, the West was teaching its religions to the Romans. At the beginning of the Christian Era there were thus many survivals from ancient seats of culture, from Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, Palestine, Greece, Rome; to these may be added many local faiths that persisted among certain groups of people. Out of this heterogeneous mingling of religions, certain *main tendencies* can be distinguished. These are (1) nationalistic, (2) philosophic, and (3) mystery-religions.

The nationalistic type of religion was, perhaps, the first to

develop. Each nation or tribe had its own god, the boundaries of whose authority were coterminous with those of the people over whom he ruled and whom he protected. When a nation was overthrown and its boundaries eliminated the deity lost its national character and the relation of this one-time national god and his worshiper became a personal one in keeping with the individualistic tendencies of the age. The people of the Graeco-Roman world had given up their idea of a national god along with their political independence. Since their national god was unable to save his nation they repudiated him and began a search for a god that could save an individual. But alongside of this individualistic development, there ran the notion of the solidarity of all humanity which was the fundamental tenet of the dominant Stoic philosophy. This produced a new national idea much larger in its scope than the older one. In this way emperor-worship became a substitute for the national religions of former times. Thus there came about a dualistic worship, the recognition, by libations and sacrifice, of the *genius* of the emperor as the personification of the state, and the private personal worship of a local personal god to whom the individual owed his fidelity because of protection and aid. The religion of philosophy was the faith of the educated and thoughtful classes. While it had one common element, it showed many variations in accordance with the principles of the type of philosophy then dominant. Platonism was dominant for more than two centuries after the death of its author. It then gave place to other systems, until it was revived in neo-Platonism of the third century A. D. The influential philosophies, the Epicurean and the Stoic, were really Hellenistic in origin and spirit. The Epicureans were influential as critics of traditional notions. They cleared the way for the more practical school of the Stoics, who together with the nearly related Cynics, stood out squarely as the champions of a monotheistic faith which was saturated with a vigorous ethical idealism. The mystery-religions formed a third type. They were simply cults of particular deities who were worshipped by certain groups of people. These groups had been previously initiated into the society or cult of the devotees of a

certain god. After they had observed the prescribed religious rites and had witnessed, at initiation, some words, or sights of terror, and certain symbolic performances, termed mysteries, they were admitted into membership of the society and believed that their hope of a blessed immortality was secure. None but the pure could be admitted to membership. This last type of religion was spread widely through the Graeco-Roman world in the period immediately preceding the advent of Christianity. Of these cults the most prominent were those of Demeter and Dionysius in Greece and Thrace; Cybele and Attis in Phrygia; Atargatus in Cilicia; Aphrodite and Adonis in Syria; Isis, Osiris, and Serapis in Egypt; and Mithra in Persia. Most of these religions travelled far from their native land into the various portions of the Graeco-Roman world and exerted a great influence upon society. Mithraism, a form of sun-worship, was very common and influential among the soldiers of the Roman empire.

Beyond these various religious cults there were many popular superstitions that were spread universally among the people. They all consulted oracles and practiced divination; they believed in demon possession, cultivated the art of exorcism, read their destiny in the stars, and the will of the gods in the entrails of slain victims. Augustus clothed himself as a beggar and solicited alms on the street one day each year because of a dream he once had. Caligula hid under his bed whenever a severe thunder storm arose, and a prominent Roman senator always walked backward from his bedroom to the bath.

"Such was this world in which the early Christians lived. Their association with the ancient faiths which had survived to that day, and their contact with these religious tendencies which were more especially distinctive of Hellenistic times, furnished the setting for their lives and defined many of the religious problems which they sought to solve."

Among the various national religions that survived the conquest of Alexander and the subsequent political changes in the Mediterranean world to the time of Christ, Judaism was the one with which Christians were the most intimately

associated and from which this new religion actually sprung. It is, therefore, necessary to comprehend Judaism as the forerunner and parent of Christianity. The Jews were early differentiated from all the races of mankind by their consciousness of standing in a peculiar relation to God. While all peoples have claimed to be god-descended, the Children of Israel alone laid claim to having entered into an agreement or covenant with their god by the terms of which God was bound to bestow upon them his choicest blessings. The Jews in general had an abiding faith in this national election, and favoritism, and their prophets, both early and late, gave special emphasis to this idea. In the religious development of Israel the chief agents in pre-Exilic times were seers and prophets. "Prophecy," says Dr. Charles, "was the declaration of the counsel or will of God, either spoken or written. It was the task of the prophet, coming forward in his own person to deal mainly with the present and with the future only as arising out of it. Prophecy was the form of expression adopted by most of the great religious leaders in Israel and Judah from the eighth to the fourth century B. C."

While the faith of the Jews in their position of divine favoritism was unshaken, the evidence of such favor on God's part was lacking. He seemed to have hidden his face from them and forsaken his chosen people. They could not understand this action on the part of God nor discover any cause for it. The finding of this cause and the revelation of it in unmistakable language were the special services which the Hebrew prophets rendered to their people. They said that God had indeed chosen Israel from among the nations of the world and had entered into a compact with them. But He had bound himself to show favor to them and to give them prosperity only on condition that they performed their part of the contract and faithfully served and worshipped Him. This they had utterly failed to do, and for this reason the covenant blessings had been withheld. The prophets gave warning that if the people desired God's favor they must return to their allegiance and perform their part of the covenant, and they promised in behalf of Jehovah that he would

again look in favor upon them and bestow the promised blessings in plentiful measure, if they but walked before Him with pure hearts.

It was due to the teachings of the older prophets of Judah, to Hosea, to Isaiah, and to Micah, that there was born in Israel the hope of a better, brighter, happier, and more glorious future for the Jewish nation. These splendid teachers of righteousness gave not only hints but glorious portraiture of the reign of Jehovah in righteousness and peace. Seven hundred and eighty years before the birth of Jesus the prophet Hosea voiced the thought of God in the statement, "I desire goodness and not sacrifice." Isaiah opens the record of his visions with an impassioned account of the direful disasters that had overtaken Israel and the utter futility of the means taken to appease the anger of Jehovah and to turn aside their destruction. He declares that the multitude of their sacrifices are displeasing. "I am full of the burnt offerings of rams," saith the Lord. . . . "I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats." . . . "Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me." . . . "Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil."

But it is the prophet Micah, who writes a generation later, after many storms had broken over the head of his beloved Judah, that gives us the most perfect expression of true religion to be found in the Old Testament: "Where-with shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams or with ten-thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." Thus it was that the prophets were the heralds of the fundamental truth that religion and ethics are inseparable, and that ethical conduct is the supreme religious act; more than all burnt offerings or the sacrificial shedding of blood. Public morality was to them the very foundation of national life.

The religious ideal of the Hebrew prophets was a theocracy, penetrated in its every fiber by religious morality; a democracy of clean living under the guidance of Jehovah. A marvellous political philosophy this, wrought out by Israel's great teachers, but the Jewish nation was unable to live up to any such high standard, and internal strife and political jealousy engendered by the short-sighted absolutism of David and Solomon, who, though national heroes, were in reality immoral despots, brought weakness and final overthrow. The population of Jerusalem and of the greater portion of all Palestine was carried away to Babylon and scattered in colonies throughout the Persian empire.

Love of the Holy Land and a burning desire for the restoration of their sanctuary had driven the exiled Jews to return after seventy years of captivity and residence in Babylon. These years had in reality been fairly prosperous ones. The Jews had ever been a race of wanderers, easily and quickly adapting themselves to new conditions and environments. Before the expiration of their period of captivity they had become the leading merchants in every city of the east. In 538 B. C. Cyrus, king of Persia, issued his famous Edict permitting the Jews to return to Judea and rebuild the walls of Jerusalem and the fallen temple of Solomon. Zerubbabel, a scion of the ancient royal house of Judah, led the first companies back to their desolated home-land. After long and provoking delays, Darius Histaspes permitted the completion of the temple and granted money sufficient for this purpose from the royal revenues. The temple was finished in 515 B. C. and the restoration of Jewish political and religious autonomy was completed. Nehemiah was appointed as royal vicerent and Ezra made supreme judge. The form of the government that was adopted for re-established Judea was a High Priest with both political and religious powers, appointed by the Persian king. He exercised autocratic authority subject only to the king of Persia. He had Levites associated with him in the service of the temple as assistants. From these the sons of Aaron were separated, making a sort of religious nobility. The law of this new government, which was promulgated in 444 B. C., was the Pentateuch, the Magna

Charta of Judaism. This law was enforced through the synagogues. The scribes, of whom Ezra was the first, formed a numerous social guild or class. They were the scholars of the New dispensation, and soon became, by reason of their control, and interpretation of the law, the dominating power in the state. Thus a new and artificial Israel was created which lasted as a pure theocracy, nominally subject to the Persian empire, for one hundred and eighty years, when the Persian empire was overthrown and absorbed into that of Macedonia by Alexander the Great. Upon the death of Alexander, 323 B. C., his vast empire, as has been previously stated, was divided up among his most successful generals. Palestine fell to Ptolemy I of Egypt and remained a part of this kingdom until 205 B. C., when it was conquered by Antiochus III of that new Syrian empire which was formed out of the eastern provinces of the empire of Alexander. This was to Palestine but a change of masters, as that country was but a pawn in the game which was continually being played for supremacy between Egypt and Syria. Neither one of these powers was a very hard master and the Jews prospered save when they became involved in religious controversy. Antiochus III, who was somewhat of a Greek scholar and philosopher, desired to build up a universal religion for his whole empire based upon Greek philosophy (Stoic). Hellenism had spread very widely and rapidly with his patronage and, in the reign of his son, an attempt was made to substitute a Greek philosophical religion for that of Judaism. This was, of course, political foolishness. The Jews were a stubborn people and did not propose to have their religion interfered with. Insurrection followed this move and the puritan party was for a time successful, but Antiochus Epiphanes, now ruler of Syria, was bound to put down this rebellion. He sent his general Apollonius against Jerusalem, who capturing the city by storm, erected an altar within the sacred precincts to Jupiter Capitolinus and compelled Jews to eat swine's flesh that had been offered as a sacrifice. This high-handed method on the part of Antiochus but stirred up the religious prejudices of the Jews and brought on national rebellion. A small party of princes

and grandees, who cultivated the Persian king for political reasons, stood for the Hellenists and aided Antiochus, but the whole body of the common people stood with the scribes for their ancient institutions and the law. The Assidians (pious ones) added their numbers to the popular party. Feeling was intense.

At this juncture there arose from an obscure source a family of heroes to champion the cause of Jewish religion and fight the battles of the common man. Mattathias, a priest of Modein, angered at the pollution, by the sacrifice of swine, of an altar where he was wont to serve, slew the offending Syrian officer together with the Jew who assisted him, and fled for safety to the mountains. His sons, Johannes, Gaddi, Simon Thassi, Judas, Eleazer, and Jonathan Appus, followed him. Like David of old, Mattathias gathered about him a body of outlaws and renegades, men who were dissatisfied with present conditions, and defended the ancient religion with the sword. Mattathias was the leader until his death in 167 B. C., when Judas, afterward called "The Hammer" (Maccabeus), succeeded him. He restored the Jewish religion and purified the temple, overthrowing the Syrian forces sent against him. But the Syrians renewed the struggle and under their Syrian general, Lysias, were successful in a campaign of restoration against Jerusalem, and made a treaty of peace with the Jews granting them complete religious liberty and recognizing Alcimus as high priest. The Scribes and Assidians, together with the mass of the people, were satisfied with what had been gained, but Judas was unwilling to stop short of political freedom, and so continued the struggle. He was finally defeated and slain, in 160, by the Syrian general, Brachides. Jonathan Appus took up the cause of his illustrious brother and continued the struggle for political freedom. The war dragged on for twenty-five years of varying success, when Judas Aristobulus, the grandson of Simon, succeeded in winning independence from Syria and assumed the title of king. He conquered Samaria and added that territory to Judea. Alexander Jannaeus succeeded to the throne of his father and added Gaza by conquest to his dominions, thus forming a compact

and powerful Jewish state as extensive as that of David.

It is very difficult for a people of strong political sense, such as the Anglo-Saxons, to understand the Jews, who have always been incapable of national foresight. No sooner had the Hasmoneans succeeded in establishing an independent Jewish nation than the bulk of the people, together with the Scribes and Assidians (Pharisees), who had previously sided with the Hasmoneans and aided them in their struggle, set themselves in opposition, wishing the government to remain priestly, without the assumption of political independence. Thus was formed a powerful conservative party. The Sadducees and resident Hellenists who held liberal religious views now sided with the Hasmoneans and aided them in securing and maintaining political independence. Thus the Jewish kingdom was split into two strong and antagonistic parties, Pharisees and Sadducees.

Alexander Jannaeus assumed the office of high priest in connection with his duties as king. The Pharisees rose in open rebellion and with inconceivable short-sightedness called upon the Syrians to aid them. This was the long-looked-for opportunity on the part of Syria to re-establish her authority. An army was sent to aid the Pharisees. Alexander was defeated and driven into exile in Peraea, where he died, and his widow, Salome, was made queen, paying tribute to Syria, while his elder son, Hyrcanus II, was appointed as high priest, thus bringing about a separation of political and priestly functions. The local government was conducted by the Sanhedrin, composed chiefly of Scribes. But the liberal party was by no means willing to accept this as a final settlement. So soon as the Syrian army was withdrawn, they rebelled under the leadership of Aristobulus, the second son of Jannaeus, and compelled Hyrcanus II to resign the priesthood. The ideal impulses of the Maccabean age now quickly fell away and the horrors of contests for the throne and high priesthood obscured the really glorious and heroic past of Maccabean history. Antipater, king of Idumea, was called in to act as peacemaker between Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II, but he was unable to accomplish the task. To crown all this political foolishness, Pompey, now successful Roman dic-

tator, was chosen as mediator. He decided in favor of Hyrcanus II, who surrendered the city to the Romans as a pledge for his good conduct. But Aristobulus II and the Sadducees held and fortified the temple. The Romans finally carried it by storm, June, 63, and abolished the kingship, bestowing the office of high priest upon Hyrcanus II, and carrying Aristobulus II, together with the flower of Jewish nobility, into captivity in Rome. The Pharisees may be considered as victorious in this foolish struggle, but their success was short-lived, as the Idumean Herod, son of Antipater, soon obtained the rule in Judea under the favoring influences of Rome. The Sadducean aristocracy was destroyed by him and the Pharisees lost all political power. These one-time powerful parties now gave their attention to philosophy and religion, and their differences in belief became very marked at the time of Christ.

Following his description of the Pharisees and Sadducees, Josephus gives an account of a third philosophic sect of the Jews differing very essentially from those preceding. They were an exclusive society distinguished from the rest of Palestinian Jews by an organization peculiar to themselves, and by a theory of life in which a severe asceticism and rare benevolence to one another and to mankind in general were the most striking characteristics. They had fixed rules for initiation, a succession of strictly separate grades within the limits of the society, and regulations down to the minutest detail, for the conduct of their daily lives. Membership could only be recruited from without as marriage was renounced as an evil. They built up their membership chiefly by adopting children at a very tender age and educating them in their own peculiar tenets. They were the first society in the world to condemn, both in theory and practice, the institution of slavery. They ate at a common table, enforced community of goods, elected their own priests and officers, and chose their own judges. They did not engage in trade, but occupied themselves with agriculture. They seemingly, if Josephus can be believed, had a speculative philosophy, similar to the Greeks, and believed in the resurrection of the spirit, but not of the body. At the time of Christ they num-

bered some 4000 souls settled for the most part in communities near the Dead Sea. It is generally accepted that John the Baptist was a member of this sect. With them the Messianic hope was exceedingly bright.

Although the opportunity to return to their native land was offered the Israelites, and even urged upon them by Cyrus, only a small portion of them ever returned from their Babylonian exile. The great mass of them remained in Babylon or spread over Mesopotamia and Eastern Syria, under Persian and Parthian rulers. These Jews kept up an active intercourse with Jerusalem and contributed large sums of money for the re-establishment and support of the temple worship. There were also settlements of Jews in Arabia that kept in close touch with their people in Palestine and frequently went up to Jerusalem upon festival occasions. But when Alexander the Great established his new city of Alexandria, in his honor, and for the spread of Greek culture and civilization, he there established a large colony of Jews, granting them special commercial favors and protection. This colony was continually reinforced by an influx of Jews not only from Palestine but from the east. From here they went in search of trade to Lybia and Cyrene. Antioch and Damascus became important Jewish centers, as Antiochus the Great followed the plan of his distinguished patron in founding new colonies of Jews in the larger cities throughout Asia Minor. From these new centers the Greek coast-lands were visited by swarms of Babylonian and Syrian Jews in search of new business outlets. Thus every city and town of any importance throughout the eastern Mediterranean basin had its colony of Jews acting as a medium of communication with the far east. As previously stated, after the conquest of Jerusalem, Pompey took to Rome a great host of captives consisting very largely of the aristocratic and wealthy members of the Jewish society, among whom were Aristobulus and his sons. These persons were subsequently allowed their freedom and were permitted to erect synagogues and have their own local government, being established in a community beyond the Tiber.

But it must be remembered that this "larger Jewry" scat-

tered as it was over the face of the world, remained linked to Jerusalem through the influence of the temple worship, and sent a stream of gold in temple gifts to the "holy city of Peace." They recognized the Jewish sanhedrin as a spiritual authority, and on festal occasions visited in numbers the sacred soil, and kept their national pride and racial separateness to a remarkable degree.

Out of the experiences of seventy years of exile the Israelites who returned to their native land brought with them the unalterable conviction that what their ancient prophets had said was true, and that national sin and apostasy brought with them inevitable disaster, while national righteousness ever secured divine blessing and brought prosperity and peace. It was this belief inground in the very consciousness of the people that produced the theocratic constitution of Ezra and Nehemiah and inspired that marvelous enthusiasm for the Levitical law in all its ceremonial and ritual completeness, which characterized the Jewish nation. It was the purpose of this law, which the Jews believed to be God-ordained and divinely inspired, to produce and perpetuate a pure and righteous nation. Its sacrifices and ritual were the means of grace and the Scribes and Pharisees formed a legal class for its interpretation and enforcement. They were the strictest and most consistent representatives of the religious spirit of this age. Their tremendous zeal, joined to the instruction in the law given in the family, the school, and, pre-eminently, in the synagogue, aimed to make the whole people a *people of the law*. Every man was to know what the law commanded and not only to know, but *to do*. History does not record a more complete fulfilment of a national ideal than was this. The people did obey. But it was not all sweet fruit that was borne by this legal and ritualistic school of righteousness. The Jews developed under this scheme a new conception of righteousness radically different from that of Hosea and Micah. Their changed conception of the covenant which God had entered into with his chosen people was also far away from what the prophets had set forth. Jewish commercialism had blinded the people. A thoroughly business arrangement, worthy of the greatest

commercial nation of all the ages, was now worked out. The covenant was a mutual agreement by which the contracting parties were legally bound. The Jewish nation was to observe the law given by God. God was to pay the promised recompense in strict proportion to the nation's performance of its part.

From the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, a new religious epoch opens. "The law not only assumed the functions of the ancient pre-Exilic prophets, but it has also, so far as lay in its power, made the revival of such prophecy an impossibility." The Rabinic scholars now taught that prophecy would cease to be because there could be nothing in prophecy which was not now suggested in the law. "The Law would endure forever." "Though all mankind combined they could not abolish one *yod* of it." Prophecy now ceased in the old sense and the law took its place. The author of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs says: "The Law is the light that lighteth every man." When once this idea of an inspired law—"adequate, infallible, and valid for all time—had become an accepted dogma of Judaism, as it became in the post-Exilic period, there was no longer room for independent representatives of God appearing before men, such as the pre-Exilic prophets."

While this deification of the Law had wrought such change in Jewish thought and ethics, and had silenced the voice of the prophet, another channel of influence had been opened up which in large measure took the place of prophecy. This was Apocalyptic. Prophecy devoted itself to the present, incidentally making use of the past and dealing with the future only as organically rising out of the present and the past. Apocalyptic took into its purview the past, the present, and the future. But it was no mere history, recording past and present facts and future probabilities as the ordinary man would see them. The Apocalypticist always sought to get behind the surface and penetrate to the essence of events, to the spiritual purposes and forces that underlie and give them their real significance. He sketched in outline "the history of the world and of mankind, the origin of evil, its course and inevitable overthrow, the ultimate triumph of righteous-

ness, and the final consummation of all things." Apocalyptic was a Semitic philosophy of religion, differing from Greek philosophy chiefly in its scope. It grasped, perhaps for the first time, the great idea that all history is a unity, thus getting out beyond national limitations and recognizing the solidarity of all mankind. This thought of *human unity*, of course, grew out of the older idea, voiced by the prophets, of the *unity of God*. Such a question was bound to be mooted in Israel because of Israel's belief in monotheism and the righteousness of God. Because God was righteous he must needs bless and love a righteous nation. The prophets promised a blessed future to a righteous nation, but they had no future to promise the individual. The pious Israelite looked to the present for his personal reward. This he found in long life, in bodily health, and in happiness; in numerous flocks, and many children to honor and revere his name; finally to be gathered to his fathers. So says the psalmist: "Once I was young; now I am old, but never have I seen the righteous forsaken or his seed begging bread." The future of the Israelitish nation was to be bright indeed, but the good Jew did not think of himself as participating in that glory. That was for his children. Thus far went prophecy and no farther. For the individual was Sheol, his everlasting home, beyond the jurisdiction of God. Ezekiel held that this arrangement worked no injustice because every man was recompensed in this life exactly in accordance with his deserts; that there was an exact balance between his outward lot as to prosperity or poverty and his inward character. This was the last word of prophecy and it voiced the orthodox dogma of Judaism. Such a shallow view was controverted and overthrown by Job and Ecclesiastes and it took the services of apocalyptic to build again the foundations of religion.

The first stage of apocalyptic literature represents the running together of the two eschatologies of the individual and the nation. In the post-Exilic period as the Messianic hope grew more intense, and the pressure of foreign despoticisms more bitter, there gradually arose a belief in a resurrection of pious Israelites in order that they might enjoy some of the blessings of the Messianic age. This was, no doubt, a

belief largely borrowed from the religion of Zoroaster with which the Israelites came in contact during their exile. In the Apocalypse of Isaiah (xxiv-xxvii) the writer deals with the ultimate destinies of the world, of the angels, and of men, and proclaims for the first time in existing Jewish literature the resurrection of righteous Israelites.

With the emphasis now placed upon the individual's relation to the future, there came, of course, a growing emphasis upon the connection between rewards and performances. If a man's resurrection and consequent participation in the Messianic blessings depended upon his own conduct rather than upon national purity, then there was a very special reason for his keeping the law in all its strictness. In doing this he was not governed by any spirit of thankfulness or gratitude toward God, nor did he hunger and thirst after righteousness. He was not consumed as in early days with any patriotic and unselfish desire to promote the welfare of his nation as a whole and to hasten for it the incoming of the Messianic hope. He desired the *personal reward* and his natural acquisitiveness was sharpened by this commercial idea. He wished to make a good bargain; to obtain the reward with as small an expenditure as possible. As to the nature of the future blessedness opinions varied very much according to individual intelligence and breadth of vision, but all Israelites were agreed that the blessings were to be national. God would establish his kingdom, and in this kingdom were to be realized all the promises of happiness that had been made to the faithful. In the numerous apocalyptic writings these were pictured in terms suited to Jewish ideals. They were to be freed from all foreign dominion and themselves made the rulers of the nations. The curse of sin was to be removed from the earth and no weeds would henceforth grow. A single grain of wheat would then produce food sufficient for a family, and wine would flow without effort to fill the cups of the thirsty. There would be a time of perfect holiness and purity. "The lion would indeed lie down with the lamb." This condition was to be secured by the outpouring of the *divine spirit* upon all the faithful. Upon the coming of temporary deliverance under the lead of the heroic Macca-

bees, a tremendous revival of patriotic religion set in (c. 165) and the tendencies within the bosom of the little church-nation came out in clear contrast and an uninterrupted course down to the eve of the Christian era.

The anticipation of the Kingdom of God sometimes included the expectation of a Messiah who would lead God's chosen people to victory, but this was not always the case. The thought of the coming of a Messiah is clearly set forth in the Apocalypse of Daniel, which was written about 170 B. C. (Dan. vii, 13, 14, 27): "I saw in the night visions, and behold one like a son of man came in the clouds of heaven . . . and there was given him dominion, and glory and a kingdom. . . . His dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom shall not be destroyed." Again, "The kingdom and dominion . . . shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom and all dominions shall serve and obey Him." But in Psalms xxiv, xxix, xlvii, and xcv to c, both the human king and Messiah completely disappear and Jehovah alone reigns over all nations and races. His rule is to be just, merciful, and unending. This is by far the broadest and noblest conception of the "Kingdom of God" to be found in the Old Testament. It is the outgrowth and crystallization of the teachings of Hosea, the II Isaiah, Micah, and the prophets of the post-Exilic period, together with the various apocalyptic writings. There can be no doubt that the conception of the Messiah and the anticipation of his coming was growing more and more common during the century and a half preceding the Christian era.

So the Messianic kingdom was to be established in "righteousness"; not "our kind of righteousness," but rather the "righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees." It was little religious and still less ideal. It was materialistic and sordid in so far as it looked beyond the fact of conquest and independence. It meant to the average Jew meat and drink, olives, corn and vineyards, sheep, cows, and oxen, and the subjugation of all the nations of the world to Judaism. But this was not the concept of all Jews, but it was the teaching of the Old Testament whose ideal was "a life of perfect right-

eousness combined with physical enjoyment — in other words, the complete realization of the entire possibilities of man constituted as he is in this life." When we reach the first century the idea of the kingdom of God on the present earth is abandoned by nearly all apocalyptic writers, as a plan utterly unfit for such a kingdom even when made over. The kingdom is now transferred from earth to heaven. There goes with this idea a new concept of the resurrection which is now only spiritual, on the ground that there could be no place for flesh and blood in a spiritual home with God. Summarizing the three prophetic notes from Jeremiah down, we have:

"First, the kingdom of God was to be *within man*; religion was to be individualized; God's law to be written on man's heart; man's soul was to be the dwelling-place of the Most High and Holy One that inheriteth eternity, whose name is holy; I dwell in the high and holy place with him that is of a contrite and humble spirit." (Isa. iv, 15.)

In the second place the kingdom was to be *world-wide*, embracing all the nations of the earth.

The third note is that the *eternal Messianic kingdom can attain its consummation only in the world to come*, into which the righteous enter through the gate of resurrection."

The chief characteristics of the kingdom of God have been set forth briefly in the above pages. We have seen little of the Messiah. It is now in place to gather, in so brief space as possible, the evidence for the Messianic hope in the New Testament. The ancient prophet could not escape looking forward to the advent of the kingdom of God, but he found no special difficulty in picturing the kingdom without a Messiah. Amos, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Joel, and probably Daniel, make no mention of the Messiah. In the description of the future in Isaiah, liv, 11-17, lx-lxii, and his prophecies, nothing is said. Passing from the Old Testament to the later Jewish literature, we find the same thing true. The Messiah is absent from the Books of the Maccabees, Judah, Tobit, I Baruch, II Enoch, the Book of Wisdom and the Assumption of Moses. It appears from this that neither in Jewish prophecy nor in apocalyptic was the Mes-

siah an organic factor of the "Kingdom of Heaven." "We do not now suppose as did the older commentators, that the prophets had before their vision the chief events of the life of Christ, or any distinct conception of his personality. They saw in prophetic vision the 'ideal figure of King, or possibly of Prophet, or of Priest,' figures suggested by the events of their own days, and projected into the future and that a future ever close at hand." The Messiah is looked for as the ideal king, if he is expected at all. The second Isaiah, in the great picture of the prophetic nation which he paints in vivid colors, infers rather than describes the *ideal Prophet*. There never occurred a combination of these two hopes in Old Testament prophecy. In the expectation of the Messiah as an *ideal Priest*, there is no indistinctness or uncertainty such as attaches to him as a Prophet. It is clearly set forth in the 110th Psalm, as follows. "The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent. 'Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek.' The Lord at thy right hand shall strike through kings in the day of his wrath." This Psalm is now generally referred to the time of the Maccabees and "addressed to Simon who was constituted ruler and high priest forever by a decree of the Jewish nation, in 142 B. C." But the hope that the Maccabees would usher in the kingdom of God was rudely crushed, as the Maccabees became irreligious and profane in the next century. The religious thinkers among the Jews now abandoned the hope of a Messiah sprung from that race and turned again to the older idea. I Enoch, xxxvii-lxxi, voices the change of thought. The conception of the Messiah is now that of the *supernatural Son of Man*, who existed from the beginning, possessed universal dominion and had all judgment committed to him. There are four titles given to the Messiah that occur here for the first time, but are reproduced in the New Testament. These are "the Christ," "the Righteous One," the "Elect One" and "the Son of Man." This last was probably suggested by one of the visions of Daniel, "*Like unto a son of man.*" The beauty of the descriptive passages in Enoch is seen in the following:

“ And he answered and said unto me;
This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness.
With whom dwelleth righteousness.
He shall be a staff to the righteous,
whereon to stay themselves,
And he shall be the light of the Gentiles
And the hope of those that are troubled of heart.”

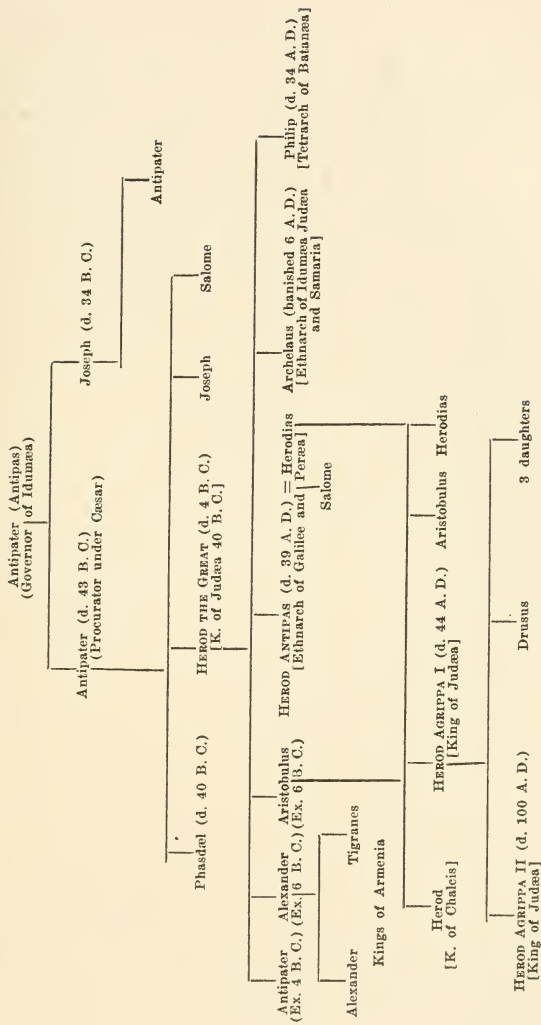
Enoch was one of the forms, and probably the most popular, assumed by the Messianic hope of the first century B. C. The second was not at all like that of Enoch, but “turned back to the Old Testament expectation of a kingly Messiah sprung from the House of David.” In accordance with this idea we have Judah declaring to his sons in I Jud. xxiv, 5-6:

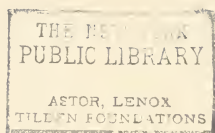
“ Thus shall the scepter of my kingdom shine forth,
And from your root shall arise a stem
And from it shall grow a rod of righteousness to the Gentiles,
To judge and to save all that call upon the Lord.”

All the Messianic concepts of the Old Testament, together with the apocalyptic writings of the post-Exilic age, unite in giving color to the glorious position of the “Son of Man” of the New Testament.

After the abolition of the Jewish kingship in 63 B. C., Palestine became a Roman province and was joined to that of Idumea, lying to the south of Judea. This latter country was a semi-independent monarchy ruled by Antipater. Upon his death his territory passed to his son Herod, who had been educated at Rome, and was a personal friend of Pompey. Roman policy now joined Palestine and Idumea and recognized Herod as ruler of this enlarged province with the courtesy title of king. Herod, subsequently known as the Great, was an unscrupulous and tyrannical ruler, but, despite this, a man of very marked ability. He kept the friendship and aid of Rome and managed, during his lifetime, to add quite extensively to his territory, to hold the various factions of the Jews, and, upon his death in 456, to pass on his territory undiminished and his power supreme to his three sons. By his will Herod the Great gave to his eldest son, Herod

HOUSE OF HEROD THE GREAT





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Antipas, Galilee and Perea, lying across the Jordan to the southeast; to his youngest son, Philip, he gave the territory lying north and east of the Jordan. Augustus sanctioned this division of Palestine, but denied the title of king to Archelaus, making him tetrarch instead.

Of these subdivisions of Palestine, that of Judea, which fell to Archelaus, was by far the largest and most wealthy. The city of Jerusalem, which had been the capital of Palestine for centuries, was transformed by Herod the Great into a city of marble, even as Rome was transformed a few years later by Nero, and here was gathered the accumulated wealth and power of the whole Jewish nation. Archelaus had the evil but not the good qualities of his father and by his cruelty and tyranny soon lost his hold upon the people and was banished the country in 6 A. D., after a reign of less than ten years. The method of government was now changed by Augustus, who sent procurators from Rome with civil and military authority responsible immediately to himself rather than to the senate. When Tiberius became emperor, in 14 A. D., he recalled the procurator then in office and appointed Gratus in his stead. Josephus says that Gratus removed from office the high priest Annas, and appointed his son Eleazer to succeed his father in the office. This arrangement did not prove successful and the following year Eleazer was deposed and one Simon placed in the office. He, in turn, was quickly superseded by Caiaphas, who is high priest in the gospel story. While Gratus was procurator, the Zealots (a fanatical body of conservative Jews) kept the people in a state of revolt. This was doubtless caused in part by reason of the discontent arising from excessive taxation. Gratus was succeeded in 26 by Pontius Pilate, who held the position of governor for ten years. He seems to have been intensely hated by the Jews, which in itself would not be a bad reputation for a governor to earn. He surely had a difficult position to fill and his history has been written by his enemies. He was finally deposed from office and, like a true Roman, committed suicide.

When Archelaus was deposed the capital was removed to Caesarea, a seaport city in the northwest part of Samaria, no

doubt in order to be free from the continual religious strife and local jealousy of the "city of peace." However, Jerusalem still continued to be the home of Jewish aristocracy.

In the latter days of the Roman republic and during the empire the countries subject to Roman rule were divided into provinces. These were of two kinds, (1) civil and, (2) military. The civil provinces were those like Italy, and Africa, where Roman rule was so thoroughly established that it was not necessary to sustain an army there. The governors of such provinces had only civil and not military authority. They held authority for one year only unless continued for some special reason. Such colonies enjoyed a large amount of political liberty. The military provinces were those more recently subdued and where, consequently, trouble might easily spring up requiring immediate action. Augustus, as military commander-in-chief, kept all these under his immediate control. Such provinces were under military and not civil jurisdiction proper. Provincial troops were always stationed in such provinces, at strategic points and under the command of the military governor (*procurator*), who represented the emperor himself and not the Roman senate. This was the nature of the Roman government in Palestine. The governor was to maintain order and administer the government by military force if necessary. He also supervised the collection and disbursement of all taxes. Local government was carried on in the province of Judea by the local *sanhedrin* in each of the eleven local districts or townships into which Judea was divided. The main tax was doubtless levied and collected by these bodies and turned over to the governor, who paid the necessary expenses of the administration and turned the remainder into the imperial exchequer. His accounts were audited by a *questor*. The customs tax was regularly farmed out or sold to a "farmer" by the government for a fixed sum paid by such person into the treasury. Such "farmers" were called *publicans*, and in hatred and contempt were classed among the sinners by good Jews. The whole system was uneconomic and vicious in the extreme.

Further, it was the business of the governor to administer justice in all cases in which Gentiles were involved (*praetor*

peregrinus). Ordinary civil or criminal cases involving only Jews were settled by the local sanhedrin of the township where the case arose. Cases of greater import were appealed to the national sanhedrin at Jerusalem. But the right of capital punishment was not vested in the sanhedrin. To carry out a death sentence the authority of the Roman governor must be had in every case. A question involving both Jews and Gentiles was decided by the Roman official. In such cases the governor formed a court of equity in which he was not governed by Roman civil law, but rather by an idea of natural justice. Rome recognized local customs in so far as possible.

The Jewish sanhedrin came first into prominence in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (444 B. C.) as a local body for the interpretation and enforcement of the law, but it emerged from this local field into prominence as a national institution during the early Maccabean days, when its membership was made up chiefly of pharisees and scribes. Its chief task was the administration of Jewish law. Herod the Great did his best to suppress it and succeeded in depriving it of most of its power, but when Roman governors were appointed, the powers of the sanhedrin were restored. It had both civil and criminal functions throughout Judea only, but its religious influence was felt wherever Jews were. As a municipal council it administered the affairs of the city, but its control of the police was limited to carrying out the regulations made by the Roman governor. Its membership was limited to seventy-one, presided over by a high priest appointed by the governor. Vacancies were filled by competition.

Herod Antipas, the second son of Herod the Great, and tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, was much like his father in characteristics. He had undoubted ability as a ruler and thoroughly understood his people and gave them peace and a reasonable prosperity. He had the passion of his father for building. He first rebuilt his capital city of Sepharis. This city, situated on a hill but a few miles west of Nazareth, he fortified with a strong wall and adorned with public buildings of the Graeco-Roman style. Not satisfied with this, he chose a new site for his capital and built the city of Tiberias

upon the western shore of Galilee, naming it in honor of his imperial patron. He surrounded this city with a strong wall and built within it a palace and public buildings. It was adorned with colonnades and furnished with a stadium for public speaking and games. This city, built in Greek style, was also governed as a Greek city, having a council of six hundred and a senate of ten, presided over by an archon. He also built the city of Bethhoran, across the Jordan from the old city of Jericho, and the castle of Machaeus at the southern end of Perea, where he also erected a royal residence.

Jesus called Herod a fox and that described him fairly well, he being both treacherous and cunning. He was dominated by Herodias, who deserted her first husband, a half-brother of Herod, in order to share his throne. This domestic scandal, together with numerous treacheries, finally caused his banishment in 37 A. D. The Galileans were probably the best portion of the population of Palestine. They were chiefly the descendants of Jewish colonists that had been settled in Galilee and Perea by the Maccabees to fill up the territory made vacant by the ravages of war. They were loyal to the Levitical law, but they were much more liberal than were the people of Judea and far enough away from the temple at Jerusalem to be independent of the priests. They were democratic in spirit and liberty loving to a remarkable degree. They were farmers, shepherds, fishermen, and tradesmen, mostly laboring with their hands that they might eat, but not poverty stricken. They kept alive the simple spiritual ideas of Hosea, and Micah. Jesus was indeed born under very favorable auspices.

The province of Herod's third son, Philip, joined that of his brother Herod, on the east, lying wholly beyond the Jordan, and inhabited by a rather motley throng of Jews, Greeks, Syrians, and Arabs, named in order of their numbers. They all spoke Greek as a second mother tongue. This territory was rocky and poor, broken by deep ravines and precipitate hills, with a rain-fall much less than that of Galilee to the west. But Philip ruled this country wisely. He was, indeed, the ablest and best of the sons of Herod the Great. His

purpose was humane and his government just. He developed the resources of his province in every way possible. In the small portion of the fertile Jordan valley which fell to his lot, he established his capital, building a strong Graeco-Roman city, well fortified and adorned. This he named Caesarea Philippi. Upon the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee he built another city, Greek in style; Jewish in name, Bethsaida (house of Fish). Here Jesus frequently preached and taught.

These brief sketches give but a bird's-eye view of the government, laws, and social condition of Palestine at the beginning of Jesus' ministry.

CHAPTER II

JOHN, THE LAST OF THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL

IN the fifteenth year of the reign of the emperor Tiberius, when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea, John, the last of the prophets of Israel, and subsequently known as John the Baptist, came suddenly from the wilderness, in the well-known garb of the ascetic, announcing the immediate coming of the kingdom of Heaven, that had been so long spoken of by the prophets, and summoning his countrymen to repentance. Of this John we know nothing, as he is brought suddenly upon the stage of action by the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, without any herald. It is true that Luke, following the ordinary custom, of the ancient East, gives to his hero a pre-natal history and miraculous birth, as if his powers were added to by being born of "a woman well-stricken in years." In reality this adds nothing to the knowledge in favor of this truly great character. His father, Zacharias, must have lived near enough to the temple to be in attendance when needed in the religious services, and he would give his son a careful training in the religion and law of his forefathers. His birth-place is not known, but it was undoubtedly in some one of the numerous villages just outside of the walls of Jerusalem.

The source for the brief story of John's preaching and work is Matthew's sayings of Jesus, from which Matthew and Luke have quoted almost verbatim. This Logia has been recently reconstructed by Professor Harnack.

John drew no alluring pictures in flowing rhetoric of the charms and beauty of the coming kingdom in order to stir up the enthusiasm of his hearers and entice them to do his bidding. Instead, he exhorted them "to repentance unto the remission of sins" in order that they might be fitted for entrance into the kingdom when it came. In his thought and

method John very closely resembled the pre-Exilic prophets. His abruptness and courage remind one of Amos. When the word of God came to John in the wilderness, he turned not to ask questions or to offer excuses. He went and preached repentance, believing that at last a new era was about to dawn. A man with such singleness of purpose and such absolute faith in the message he bore would get a hearing anywhere and at any time. The people flocked to hear him. His strange garb and his dreamer's face, thin to emaciation, by fasting, for a time held their attention; his message and the authority with which he spoke as one having the commission of God, completed the work. They believed him.

Like the earlier prophets, John addressed the whole Jewish nation without distinction of wealth or standing. His concept of the Kingdom of Heaven is that of Isaiah rather than of a later period. It is to be ushered in by a judgment, and to get ready for that judgment repentance was essential. There is one new thought in John, however. Isaiah has Jehovah himself act as judge. John represents the Messiah as conducting the judgment. "Whose fan is in his hands, and he will thoroughly purge his floor and will gather the wheat into his garner; but the chaff he will burn." Again, he sets forth the same thought in different language. "Now is the ax laid unto the root of the tree; every tree, therefore, which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire." This is the preparation for the setting up of God's kingdom. John's concept of the Messianic kingdom was in all probability that current among the Jews of his time, modified somewhat by the teaching of the Essenes, among whom he doubtless spent some time. But his words do not come out in the gospel records.

John was a stern-lipped democrat of the Jacksonian type, as were Amos and Micah among the older prophets. He said to the very flower of Jewish aristocracy that flocked out to hear him: "Sons of serpents, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" Plead not your blue blood. "God can raise up children to Abraham from the stones that litter the Jordan valley. Bring forth fruit worthy of repentance."

John preached that the Kingdom of God was coming in the near future, that it was to be ushered in by a judgment, and that "preparation for entrance into it was along the way of moral housecleaning; the way of generosity, honesty, justice, and mercy; the abolition of social inequalities, and the establishment of brotherly love." "And the crowd kept asking him, saying, what then must we do? And he answered and said to them, He who has two coats, let him give to him that has none; and he who has food, let him do likewise. And there came also publicans to be baptized, and they said to him, Teacher, what must we do? And he said to them, Extort no more than is assigned to you. Soldiers also asked him, saying, And what must we do? And he said unto them, Use violence to none, neither accuse anyone wrongfully, and be content with your wages." As the soldiers were not Jews, but recruits from some other Roman province, it would seem that John did not confine himself in his moral teachings to his own people.

This may be gathered from the preaching and success of John. It was Israel's national hope and not the speaker's eloquence that carried the multitudes into the desert to hear him. His experience made it perfectly clear that there was just one message that would hold the interest of the Jewish people in general. This was the expected Kingdom of God. His teaching must relate itself in some manner to this theme; must communicate something of importance concerning it, or something to do to hasten its coming, or the people would not listen. "No religious reformation could have any hope of success, except as it rooted itself in the people's thought and hope of that kingdom. It was as a preacher of the kingdom that John first attracted notice, and it was as a preacher of the kingdom that Jesus first riveted attention upon himself."

John, like the Essenes, whom he resembled, repudiated Jewish circumcision and made religion democratic, but he still made use of the symbol of baptism which had been in use among the Jews for many years as symbolic of purification. This is clearly seen in Ezekiel, xxxvi, 24, 25, where Jehovah declares to the scattered Jewish exiles: "I will gather you

from the nations and I will sprinkle clean water upon you and you shall be cleansed from all your filthiness." And Isaiah makes use of these words: "Wash you, make you clean." Again, a ceremonial bath was necessary if a Gentile desired to become a proselyte. It is needless to add that all the nations of antiquity, especially the Greeks, made use of baptism as a ceremonial of cleanliness. Thus John made use of baptism as a generally recognized symbol of cleansing from filth. The form made use of by him was undoubtedly immersion.

The question of John's acquaintance with Jesus has been much mooted and, no doubt, the dispute will still go on. It must necessarily hinge upon Luke's introductory note. John did not represent himself as Messiah nor did he speak of himself as the fore-runner of Messiah. The people who thronged to hear him raised the question of John's Messiahship and to settle this question of doubt, the rulers of the Jews sent a delegation to him to inquire as to his purpose and person. To these John made specific denial of his Messiahship and also stated that he was not Elijah returned to earth. He seems not to have connected his preaching and mission in any official way with the coming kingdom. He was in his own estimation merely a preacher of righteousness and justice and made no claim to any acquaintance or knowledge of the Messiah. Indeed, there is not a hint anywhere in the sources of a knowledge on John's part that the Messiah had indeed arrived. When John had been arrested and was lying in prison awaiting death, he sent messengers to Jesus, who, at that time, was preaching in Galilee, asking, "Art thou he that should come?" This seems to make it perfectly clear that Jesus was not, up to this time, known to John as the Messiah, and shows that the statement in the fourth gospel to the effect that he was, is unhistorical.

Josephus says of the martyred John: "He was a good man and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as justice toward one another, and piety toward God, and so to come to baptism."

John gathered about him a body of disciples whose fidelity

to their master was attested by their going forth after his death and spreading everywhere the message which they had received from him, but the culmination of his work was his influence upon Jesus.

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CHAPTER III

THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS

THE Gospel of Mark opens its account of the ministry of Jesus with these words: "Now, after that John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, The time is at hand, repent ye, and believe the glad tidings."

It is thus seen that Jesus, like John the Baptist, began his public career by preaching the Kingdom of God. Indeed, it is only as we recognize this fact that we can understand him at all, or see in him an historical character. He was no time-less preacher merely philosophizing upon human events, but a member of an ordinary Jewish family, democratic in taste and sentiment. He came not to full stature in a day, but, as Luke testifies, "grew and waxed strong in spirit," like any other child. It is contrary to faith in the real humanity of Jesus to believe that he ever stopped growing.

Mark began his narrative with an account of the work of John the Baptist. The teaching-source, known as the Logia of Matthew, began in like manner. But Luke went further back and gathered up the floating traditions touching his birth and lineage. The Gospel of Matthew gives an account of the birth of Jesus which differs quite radically from that given by Luke. In Luke, the angel that announced the birth of Jesus appears to Mary, while in Matthew, it appears to Joseph. In Luke, angels announced the birth of the child to shepherds near Bethlehem. In Matthew, the announcement is made by the appearance of the star to the magi. In Luke, the child is immediately taken by the parents to the temple to be presented before the Lord, at which place they met Simeon and the prophetess Anna. After performing the necessary legal acts they "returned to Galilee to their own city, Nazareth." Matthew, however, tells us that they fled

immediately to Egypt "to escape the persecution of Herod." Matthew adds the story of Herod's slaying of all the children "in Bethlehem and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under," in order that he might thereby happen to slay Jesus. This is most certainly unhistorical, as no power of indiscriminate slaughter was ever allowed to a Roman governor at any time, even by the worst of emperors, and Tiberius Caesar was no despot. Neither was he a special friend of Herod and, consequently, willing to condone such brutal murder. It is impossible to think of such an act taking place without punishment being meted out to the offender, and with no mention of the act occurring in Roman history.

While there is much disagreement between the Gospels of Matthew and Luke on many points, when they depart from copying Mark, they both agree that Jesus was descended from David through Joseph and not through Mary, and that he was born amidst humble surroundings and partook of the life of the common people. Men have quite generally differed for centuries regarding the exact manner of Jesus' birth. There is strong evidence in the Bible to support the belief in his natural genesis, and all science leans to this side. There is much biblical evidence also to support his supernatural genesis, but as time goes by it becomes more and more difficult to believe this, as society pretty generally is dominated by a common sense philosophy. Jesus never referred to the manner of his birth. To him this was of minor importance. He says: "He who does the will of God is my brother and sister and mother." Paul, who was the oldest witness to Jesus, says nothing whatever about a supernatural birth. The idioms employed by him are those which would naturally be employed to describe the ordinary process of generation. He was "born of the seed of David according to the flesh"; "born in the likeness of sinful flesh;" he refers to the fathers of the race, "of whom Christ was according to the flesh." The Synoptic Gospels everywhere speak of Jesus as the son of Joseph the carpenter. For two hundred years the Christian church held quite generally to the natural generation as given above. Then the church began to take up the belief that Jesus was not born in the ordinary way and to this it

has since tenaciously clung. This but reflects the attitude which began to prevail toward physical generation. The Stoic philosophy was largely responsible for such attitude, holding as it did to the evil nature of all flesh. Children naturally generated were evil, therefore, says Philo, "Every child of promise was born miraculously." Five hundred years before Christ, Buddha was born of a virgin with God as a father. The apocryphal gospels of the second century carried this doctrine still farther and taught that Mary was likewise miraculously conceived.

As a conclusion of this whole matter we can do no better than to quote Professor Kent's summary, which is as follows: "Inasmuch as the biblical testimony is inconclusive, the question regarding the manner of Jesus' birth is naturally answered according to each man's individual leaning and point of view. The significant fact, however, is that, whichever answer be accepted, Jesus remains as unmistakably the Son of God as he is the Son of man. To all thoughtful Christians the fact is self-evident that their conception of God is almost wholly derived from the life and teachings of Jesus."

It is not the divinity of Jesus that appeals to the hearts of men, but rather the fact that he was born in a humble peasant cottage surrounded on all sides by the unmistakable signs of poverty and toil. He was allied by birth and training with the countless army of toil-stained laborers whose burdens of sorrow, disappointment, and suffering he sought to lift from their weary shoulders. The miraculous stories that have clustered around his birth are but the tributes that the children of men have paid to his divine unselfishness and love.

The place and date of Jesus' birth cannot be definitely settled because of the conflicting nature of the evidence. Mark speaks of Galilee as His own country. The question put to John, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" implies the source. The author of the Fourth Gospel seems to have been ignorant of the fact of his being born in Bethlehem of Judea. However, until more conclusive evidence has been found, the Christian church will continue to hold with Luke and Matthew that he was born in Bethlehem of Judea.

As to the year of his birth, after careful weighing of evidence, it is reasonably assured that it took place some time in 6 B. C. There is no way of finding the day. It was not until the fourth century that the Roman church began to observe the 25th day of December as the day of Jesus' birth. The Armenian church still celebrates January 6.

Jesus was the oldest of five brothers. He also had at least two sisters, but because of the belief in the inferiority of females, only the names of the brothers are given; these were James, Joses, Judas, and Simeon. The home in which Joseph and his family lived was doubtless like those seen in the village of Nazareth today; a windowless, square house of brick and stone with but one door. The floor was of dirt tramped hard, and the roof was flat, affording a place for the family to gather in pleasant weather or to sleep when the nights were hot. An outside stairway gave access to the roof. Here in these narrow and unventilated quarters the family ate their frugal meals and, wrapped in their blankets, slept at night on the cold floor or on mats. This is not an attractive picture of home life and yet there was contentment and happiness within these narrow walls. Joseph seems to have been a good husband and father, considerate and careful in his dealings, just and loving in his association with his children. Jesus evidently drew from him his many illustrations of fatherhood and these are uniformly true and loving.

Every Jewish child was taught by his mother at home when he reached the age of six. His education began with committing to memory the Jewish creed contained in Deuteronomy, vi, 4, 5; vii, 7: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. The Lord did not set his love upon you nor choose you because ye were more in number than any people, for ye were the fewest of all peoples; but because the Lord loveth you." As the child grew he learned to write by copying these words, and his mother taught him their meaning. When he reached the age of six, he was sent to the Synagogue, where the keeper taught the children how to read and write and gave them further instruction in the law. The children sat cross-legged

in a circle about their teacher and recited aloud, and in concert, the Shema, or confession of faith, which every Jew, no matter where he was, repeated each morning and evening throughout his entire life. In addition to the teaching of the synagogue, daily prayers were recited and portions of scripture were read in the home. A prayer of blessing and thanksgiving was offered before and after each meal. When the sun rose, the boy was taught to stop and give thanks. In the service on the Sabbath day at the synagogue, he listened to the reading of the law and to the interpretation of a passage from some one of the prophets by the leader of the service. Aramaic was the language of the home. In addition to this the boy usually obtained a reading knowledge of the Hebrew, which was, like Aramaic, a dialect of the Semitic language, but no longer spoken. In the larger cities of Galilee and Judea, Greek was generally spoken, not only by the numerous foreign population, but also by the Jews, as it was the language of commerce. The above-named opportunities for education were open to Jesus throughout the boyhood period of his life. At the synagogue, in charge of the caretaker, he had easy access to rolls of the law and the prophets, as well as the other sacred writings. Jesus was doubtless familiar with all these, as is shown by his constant use of them.

In this uneventful manner Jesus passed his early days, like any other sturdy son of Israel. Then an event took place that was destined to have a marked influence upon his whole life. At the age of twelve he made his first visit to Jerusalem, where stood the lofty temple to which all Jewish eyes turned with reverence and pride. This journey was the culmination of his quiet years of home training. He was now to assume, according to Jewish law, the full religious responsibilities devolving upon every faithful Jew. Henceforth he must make three journeys each year to the temple at Jerusalem to fulfil his religious obligations. The journey with a slow-moving caravan through the wonderfully picturesque country, a four days' journey to the old town of Jericho opened a wonderland to the poetic imagination of the boy Jesus. The ascent of four thousand feet to the first sight of the Holy

City revealed to him the very gate of Heaven. Here was the temple symbolizing Jehovah's abiding presence. Upon a Friday evening, he, together with his parents and friends, partook of the Passover meal. With reverence he listened to the prayers and witnessed the religious ceremonies. The historic associations aroused his patriotic and religious impulses. This sensitive boy with his deep patriotic spirit was suddenly quickened into an intellectual and religious manhood. The seven days of feasts and ceremonies were days of opportunity for Jesus. He used them in questioning the rabbis who thronged the temple courts and discussed the great political and religious questions of the day. He treasured up their answers in his heart.

The days of the Passover went by and Jesus' parents departed for their distant home. But the boy was still so absorbed in the temple service and the discussions of the doctors of the law that he forgot all about the journey home and still lingered in the temple courts, "questioning the teachers that he might know." After a day's journey on the homeward road, his parents missed him and went back to the city to seek him out. . . . "They found him in the temple sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions." . . . "And his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" An examination of this passage shows that Jesus, at the early age of twelve, had the conviction that God was his Father and that he owed to him his supreme allegiance even above that which he owed his earthly parents. Under the influence of the Hebrew Scriptures, with which he seems to have been very familiar, he may have gained the conception of God as the Father of the Jewish nation, for there is occasional expression of this idea in these writings. But the far more remarkable fact that God's fatherhood was interpreted by him, at this early age, as of individual and not simply of national significance, "that it meant to him not merely Israel's divine sonship, but his own, can find its ultimate explanation only in his own unique religious person-

ality." This is Jesus' first great contribution to the religious thought of the world and immediately marks him out as the most profound of all religious teachers. He establishes the spiritual sonship of the race and the brotherhood of all mankind.

Jesus spent thirty years of his life preparing for a ministry of two or three. This fact is generally lost sight of by commentators. The work which was destined to transform the whole world was "the culmination of prolonged experience, observation, and thorough study." We lost sight of him when he returned to Jerusalem and was "subject unto his parents," but many journeys were subsequently made by him to the Holy City and communication with learned rabbis, and periods of thought and study were frequent as he attended the yearly feast of the Passover and their religious services at the temple. His quickened intellect was busy all the years of his service at the carpenter's bench, and the picturesque history of Israel, the writings of its famous prophets, and the law, marked out and explained with such care by the scribes, were to him as familiar as the simple lessons of childhood. All this is made perfectly clear by his easy use of them in his teachings. Psalms and proverbs were ever at his tongue's end. Jesus had not only filled his mind with the literature and culture of his people, but what was more, *he knew men* by intimate association with them in their daily labors. He thus came not to the permanent task of his manhood with empty hands, but sustained and strengthened, not only by the whisperings of the Spirit of God within him, but also by the consciousness of being thoroughly equipped for his work. Indeed, he was in more senses than one, a "Master Builder."

There is clearly seen in Jesus' ministry a gradual development and clarification of his own views touching not only the Kingdom of God, but his own Messiahship. He was continually expanding and trying out his own ideas by experience and actions. It was only through this channel that he could understand ordinary humanity and sympathize with human needs.

Jesus has now completed his long period of preparation

and is ready to take up his life work. At last he has closed his carpenter's shop at Nazareth and placed himself alongside of John Baptist as a preacher and guide to the children of men. This must not be looked upon as the decision of a moment on Jesus' part. It was the natural thing for him to do. He perceived that John was doing just what he planned to do,—ministering to the spiritual needs of the people and calling them to repentance and baptism. He was himself baptized as a dedication of his time and powers to his new calling. His subsequent acts showed that he placed no value upon baptism in itself.

This evidence of the intense humanity of Jesus is well brought out in the desert temptation. Here we behold him in absorbed and concentrated thought in view of the many problems which he was called upon to meet. On the threshold of his Messianic activity he was faced with the great problem of his life. This was a conflict between a lower ideal and a higher. The lower ideal was that commonly held by his countrymen. They were looking for the bestowal upon Israel of earthly plenty, earthly power, and earthly glory. Their barns were to be full to bursting, and their cellars well-stocked with wine; they were to overthrow their enemies and themselves rule in their stead. It would be a very natural ambition for Jesus, who felt that he had the power, to appeal to the people upon this lower plane and win popularity and fame for himself by using them as instruments. Jesus had shared the common Messianic ideals of his people. Should he strive to fulfil them? The higher ideal was that which his own experience had given him, the Messianic call to divine sonship, and the blessedness found in doing the will of his Father. How strong the temptation was, none but Jesus knows. The victory was glorious and complete. "Man shall not live by bread alone but by every word that comes from the mouth of God." No life of earthly prosperity and ease could satisfy the deeper longings of man's soul. Well did Jesus know the power of the temptation. From it sprang a fundamental principle of his teaching: "If any man will come after me, *let him deny himself.*" The higher ideal was in the conflict. Jesus saw that he could not devote himself

to the fulfillment of the common hopes of his countrymen. Loyalty to God, his Father, forbade the use of his powers for any but the very highest end, and that end could never be attained in mere material prosperity and temporal glory. This victory meant the assured and permanent conviction on Jesus' part that he was not called to be an earthly prince and conqueror. It was borne in upon him with an absolute conviction that he was the bearer of the divine message of the revelation of God's fatherhood to all the children of men. His supreme aim was to bring men into intelligent, loyal relation to God and he knew that to do this he could not be disloyal in the slightest degree to the promptings of the divine spirit. Professor Kent says of the temptation: "It was the open window of his soul, through which it is possible to study the simple yet divine principles that found expression in all that he taught and did. It reveals the one absolutely normal and therefore perfect man."

The revelation to Jesus of the fatherhood of God in a personal sense, and his own mission as the bearer of this message, caused him to change his concept of the Kingdom of God which he had heretofore held in common with his people. The first mention of Jehovah as King is in the first vision of Isaiah, where he exclaims:

"I am dwelling among a people
with unclean lips,
Yet mine eyes have seen the King,
Jehovah of hosts."

The same thought is in I Samuel xii, 12. "You said to me, 'Nay, but a king shall reign over us,' when Jehovah your God is your king." But the Jews generally believed that although Jehovah was their divine king, this did not prevent them from paying homage to an earthly king. They also hoped for a human Messiah to establish a world-wide kingdom and extend the authority and glory of Jehovah throughout the whole earth. In the time of Jesus this expectation is vividly set forth in the Psalter of Solomon:

"Behold, O Lord, and raise up to them their king, the son of David, in the time which thou, O God, knowest, that he may

reign over Israel thy servant. . . . He shall destroy the ungodly nations with the wind of his mouth. . . . And he shall gather together a holy people. . . . He shall judge the nations and the peoples with the wisdom of his righteousness. And he shall possess the heathen to serve him beneath his yoke. And he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen by the whole earth, and he shall purge Jerusalem and make it holy even as it was in the days of old." According to the views of the educated class and the leaders among the Jews the Kingdom of God would come by miraculous intervention as in no other way could the power of Rome be broken. This idea is voiced in Daniel, "In the days of these kings shall the God of Heaven raise up a Kingdom which shall never be destroyed nor shall the sovereignty be left to another people; but it shall break in pieces and destroy all these kingdoms and it shall stand forever." The Sibylline Oracles set forth the same hope in even more forceful language,—“Then a kingdom over all mankind for all time shall God raise up and out of every land they shall bring frankincense and gifts to the house of God. And all pathways of the plain and rough hills and high mountains and wild ways of the deep shall be easy in those days for crossing and sailing; for perfect peace for the good shall come on earth.” It is not necessary here to enter into a discussion of the meaning and value of the above Messianic conceptions nor to speculate as to the views actually held by Jesus in his later years. Certain it is that he modified the ordinary materialistic view by a new spiritual interpretation. But the Kingdom of God, modified as above, continued to be, throughout his entire ministry, the center of all his teaching, as recorded by the Synoptic gospels. Jesus' Kingdom of God presents a very sharp contrast to the popular idea. The nature of the kingdom as a spiritual society is clearly enough set forth so that no one need make any mistake about it. It is composed of those who possess certain qualities of mind and heart. He has illustrated these characteristics of the Kingdom of God by a wealth of figures and parables. In fact all his parables and moral instructions bear upon this one subject. Conditions for entrance into the kingdom

make a complete summary of Jesus' teachings. They are set forth in the Sermon on the Mount. Those who are poor (humble) in spirit, the meek, the peacemaker; those who seek after righteousness are the ones already prepared for the kingdom. "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God" might well be taken for the text of this so-called sermon. To see God is to dwell in his presence, and that is citizenship in the kingdom in a nut shell. No signs of the coming kingdom shall be given. "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation; neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for behold the Kingdom of God is (already present) in the midst of you." No longer looking for the kingdom as in the case of John, Jesus says it is present. Jesus never defined what he meant by the Kingdom of God. He was too busy teaching its principles to care for definitions, and his audience needed nothing of the kind, as it was to them a phrase familiar from their childhood. The only new thing in their way of thinking was that it was at hand.

It is fair to conclude that in the main Jesus meant by the term Kingdom of God, the same things that were in the minds of his hearers. Otherwise, it would be a mistake to use the term as it would be the means of continued misunderstanding and, consequently, weaken his power as a teacher. "If he did not mean the consummation of the theocratic hope of the Jewish nation but, instead, an internal blessedness for certain individuals, with a hope of getting to heaven when they died, to say the least, it would have been better teaching for Jesus to have expressed himself in some other way than to use the words around which clustered the collective hopes of the people. But after we have conceded all this; we must still assert that Jesus very seriously modified and corrected the people's conception." "This is the process of every great creative religious mind. His connection with the past is maintained and the old terms are used but they are set in a new connection and filled with new qualities." Jesus constantly opposed some features of the Messianic hope of the people and substituted for them others which he deemed more in harmony with the spirit of God.

Violence and bloodshed were fundamentally opposed to

Jesus' concept of the kingdom. He repudiated from the first the revolution of force. In his eyes the reign of peace could never be established by bloodshed. But this was entirely contrary to Jewish expectations. The Jews looked for the Messiah to hoist the flag of revolt and slay all oppressive rulers with the sword of the faithful. The heroes of the Israelites had ever been warriors who used force to overthrow enemies and establish Jewish supremacy. Jehovah was ever the "Captain of the hosts of Israel." The only means for breaking the iron hand of Rome and the setting up of Messiah's kingdom was force. But Jesus said: "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword." He threw away the sword and with the idealism of a perfect faith advanced upon the intrenchments of wrong "with hand outstretched and heart exposed." This showed a sagacity on the part of Jesus a thousand years ahead of his time, for nothing can be truer than they that take the weapons of force for the accomplishment of their purposes shall perish by the same means.

John Baptist pictures the activity of Messiah to begin with the judgment. This was in harmony with the old Jewish thought. The fruitless tree was to be hewn down. The chaff was to be winnowed out and burned. Jesus did not feel called to that kind of a Messiahship. Instead, he reversed the program of John and placed the judgment at the end and not at the beginning. This he illustrated in many ways. In the parable of the tares when asked by his servants permission to pluck the tares from among the corn, the lord instructed them to let "the two grow together till the harvest," then they would gather the corn into the barn but burn the tares. This was Jesus' order: "first the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear, and at last the harvest." In this way he left the judgment in the dim distance and in the meantime listened to the call of the present for the saving of souls.

John looked for the setting up of the Kingdom of God by sudden divine intervention or catastrophe, and in this he voiced the ideas of the multitude. Jesus saw no ready-made Kingdom of God coming down from Heaven, but rather,

slowly developing out of the present by divine aid. The people themselves were to be actively interested in its production and growth. He grasped the substance of the law at organic growth and development in nature and history which the present day has begun to elaborate with speed and precision. The conception of growth or development demanded not only a finer insight on Jesus' part, but a higher and more perfect faith. He believed in the organic growth of the new society of God's kingdom; in the multiplication of the unit. He saw the advance of the kingdom in every human life that was brought under the control of the new spirit which he himself embodied and revealed. Seeing the faraway results he felt that the humblest man in his company of believers who shared with him in the new social spirit of the kingdom was superior even to John the Baptist whom Jesus had represented as the greatest exemplification of the old era. "Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist; notwithstanding he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he." This gradual growth, the increase by multiplying the unit, is illustrated by Jesus in many ways; it is like the small mustard seed which develops at last "into a great plant"; it is like the leaven spreading in the meal, "until it was all leavened." The coming of the kingdom is subject to the law of historic development. The entire history of Israel was in a measure a preparation for the kingdom, and, while it is here, in a sense, it still is coming and will continue to come through the winning of men to the acceptance of God's standard of life.

To the devout Jews of Jesus' time the Mosaic Law, with the interpretations and expansions made by the scribes and rabbis, known as the Rabbinic Law, was the very core of religion. The coming of the expected Kingdom of God did not mean to them the abolition of the law but its enthronement. When all the people obeyed the law, then the kingdom would come. It was this hope that spurred on the pharisee to punctilious and rigid enforcement of all the minutiae of ceremonial cleanliness. It was this, too, that made him suspicious of Jesus and finally his enemy. We may take for example the matter of fasting. The law commanded fasting

three times a week and the pharisee prided himself on the fulfillment of the law. But Jesus paid no attention to this custom and did not encourage his disciples in conforming to it. When the pharisees questioned him he simply answered that fasting was the symbol of sorrow and bereavement and not of joy. Therefore, there would be no fitness in his disciples fasting. Jesus plainly indicated the principle governing him in the parable: "No man seweth a piece of new cloth on an old garment; else the new piece that filled it up taketh away from the old, and the rent is made worse." He does not propose to hamper the free spiritual life of his disciples by fastening upon them a round of outward observances. He was, in fact, so utterly indifferent to ceremonial laws that he struck the earnest religionists of his day as a man of loose life and of destructive influence. Matthew records a saying of theirs: "The Son of Man came eating and drinking and they say, Behold a man gluttonous and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners." Jesus lived in a world separated so entirely from that of Jewish ceremonialism that the two scarcely touched. All his enthusiasm went out toward justice, mercy, and good-will among men. At Nazareth he quoted the words of Isaiah as the program of the kingdom,—“good news to the poor, release to the captives, sight to the blind and liberty to the bruised and crushed lives.” When John sent to him from prison asking him if he were Messiah, he answered as his proof that, “human life was being relieved and bettered, and the poor had good news proclaimed to them.” In his wonderful picture of the Messianic judgment he once for all satisfied the inquiring mind touching all problems of the law. In it he has not one word about tithings or sacrifice or prayers or food-laws or fastings or purifications. Instead of all this his judgment is based entirely upon social sympathy. “Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in; naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him saying, Lord, when saw we thee an

hungered, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink? When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked and clothed thee? Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? And the king shall answer and say unto them, Verily, I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto *one of the least of these my brethren*, ye have done it unto me." Some have felt the nakedness, the hunger, the thirst, the sickness and the loneliness of their fellows. Others have not. The decision as to their fitness for citizenship in the "kingdom of brotherhood" is based upon this and this alone. In this wonderful summary Jesus voices his sense of solidarity and unity which makes all human life part of our life. That law he applies unto himself by holding that whatever is done to the weakest member of humanity is done to himself. In his utter indifference to ceremonial religion and insistence on human solidarity and its ethical corollaries, "he parted company with ecclesiasticism for all time, and transferred the kingdom ideal to the plane of ethics inspired by the spirit of God."

Jesus fulfilled the law by grasping its true spiritual meaning and separating that from the husks of formalism. His method of procedure is seen in many examples which have been preserved in the Gospels. "It was said by men of old time Thou shalt not kill; but I say unto you that whosoever is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment." Thus Jesus penetrated to the world of motives and instead of forbidding the overt act, forbade the indulgence of the passion which produced the act. So the law forbade adultery. Jesus forbade the impure desire.

To the Jews of the time of Jesus the Kingdom of God meant the triumph of Judaism. All the nations of the world would become tributary to the Jewish nation. The power of Rome would pass away forever and the capital of the world would be shifted from Rome to Jerusalem. If a Gentile desired to have a share in this Messianic salvation he must become a Jew by submitting to the rite of circumcision and obeying the Jewish law. Jesus, himself, no doubt, began his work with the same horizon as his countrymen, but he differed from them in that his horizon continually receded. It

was with joy that he recognized human brotherhood whenever it was made manifest and his own prejudices melted away at the touch of a Gentile hand. He declared that he had never found such faith among his own people as was manifested by the Roman centurion. He left the beaten path to teach one of his greatest lessons and set up a despised Samaritan as a model of human kindness above the priest and the Levite. What a blow in the face to Judaism! Here we encounter the spirit that beats down the trammels of a narrow group, to seek a wider allegiance; that goes beyond narrow prejudices and hails the brotherhood of nations. Jesus speaks for all humanity; he makes room at the Messianic table-round, "for those who shall come from the east and from the west to sit down with the patriarchs." Thus the old division of humanity into Jews and Gentiles slowly faded out of the mind of Jesus and there came instead the grander vision of the Kingdom of God universal in its scope with doors swinging open to all the children of men.

The political ideas of the Jews were formed upon the despotisms of David and Solomon, and, for this reason, were monarchic in form although they contained much of the democratic spirit. There was nothing in their history to suggest any other form of government than that of a monarchy. The coming kingdom, therefore, took this form in their imagination. The Messiah was looked for as a king and his followers expected to have places of honor and trust under his banner. Jesus' disciples were filled with these notions, and, no doubt, frequently disputed the question of preference when he set up his kingdom. The sons of Zebidee came to him and asked for positions as "chief advisers to the crown" when he came into his kingdom. Such false notions were strenuously condemned by Jesus and he dissipated such expectations by laying down the law of service as the law of his kingdom. "Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant; Even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister." All greatness in the kingdom was to rest on the basis of service. The Jewish conception of God himself was cast in the mold furnished by

the despotism of David and Solomon. They took the form furnished them and endeavored to expand the kingly attributes and powers into the divine attributes and powers of Jehovah. When Jesus spoke of God as our loving Father he at once democratized God himself and associated His children with Him in His government. Happy and willing obedience took the place of slavish fear. Free coöperation between men and God took the place of the old Jewish idea of a sort of "mercantile contract" by which man would do no more than he had to, and get as much for it as he could.

It was Jesus who raised the life of the human soul up toward God on the one side, and on the other, brought God from his faraway lofty throne right down close to us as our Father.

We have above given brief consideration to the various convictions and changes made by Jesus in the Jewish concept of the Kingdom of God, but these did not involve the surrender of the inherited hope of God's reign here upon earth or the re-working of human society into one universal body permeated and controlled by Christ's spirit of love and sacrifice. The hope of the kingdom has never been transferred from earth to heaven.

Jesus was not in the ordinary sense a philosopher. He propounded no system of philosophy or of morals. There is, however, a uniform consistency in the fundamental principles which underlie his teachings and these principles are in harmony with those of modern science, as they rest, like the latter, upon the ultimate basis of fact and experience. Of these principles laid down by Jesus perhaps the first in importance is that of *motive*. He taught that not only the acts of the individual but also the character were determined by the motive that lay back of them. He was convinced that with a pure motive every act of the individual would be pure. To purify motive he conceived that every act must spring from one imposing force, loyalty to God. There was with him no halting place, no debatable ground. "No man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other; or else he will hold to the one and despise the other."

This was the first step in the attainment of the purity of heart which alone assured residence in the Kingdom of God. The besetting sin of the Jews, and it was to them that Jesus was talking, was *greed or love of riches*. It was against this hindrance to purity that Jesus aimed three of his famous parables. "The ground of a certain rich man had large crops. And he argued with himself saying, 'What shall I do for I have no room to store my crops?' And he said, 'This will I do; I will pull down my barns and build larger ones; and then I will store all my grain and my goods. And I will say to myself, 'Now you have many goods laid up for many years; take your ease, eat, drink, and be merry.' But God said to him, 'Foolish man; this very night thy life is demanded of thee. And the things which thou hast prepared — whose shall they be?' So is the man who stores up treasure for himself instead of being rich toward God."

In this parable Jesus analyzes with great skill and truthfulness to human experience the character of selfishness that unfits a man for fellowship with God and destroys the spirit of human brotherhood. Man's natural love for gain is an inheritance from savagery when to store food was a necessary means of life when besieged by an enemy or checked in hunting by the rigor of winter. The chief motive of the majority of the human race is still to obtain wealth and to live in ease and luxury. The reminder is always a timely one; "Ye cannot serve God and mammon."

The parable of the rich man and Lazarus has notably lost its original force in coming down to us. As it is reported by Luke it is of doubtful value as a lesson. The rich man has done nothing wrong save that he has wealth. Lazarus has done nothing to inherit the kingdom save to suffer the extreme of poverty and to be dirty enough for the dogs to have pity upon him and to put forth some effort to give him a bath. We can hardly believe that Jesus would condemn riches for themselves alone and love poverty even when filthy. The Master always honored effort and himself spent a life of toil. He even complimented the thief for his shrewdness and by it condemned the mental slothfulness of some of his own dis-

ciples. Something has been left out in the redressing of the parable given by Luke.

The outcome of the intensive study of the New Testament writings and history in the past fifty years has been that restoration of the historical Christ and the gradual disentanglement of his person and offices from the ecclesiasticism which had taken possession of them and molded them to its own use. This restoration makes an appeal to Christ himself, to his work and his mission inevitable as well as natural. Christ seems to have united in himself the human aspects of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon, all three. He put himself in a position of entire equality with his Disciples and taught them to cherish and promulgate the same democratic and paternal relations with those whom they instructed, as he used in his association with them. Their office and functions were to be ministerial, beneficent, self-sacrificing, and subordinate. In their striving to upbuild the spiritual life of the people among whom they labored, they were to leave themselves out of the reckoning.

We have seen from what precedes, that Christ's mission was to establish a kingdom rather than found a church; to set moving on the lines, and with the spontaneous impulses, of reasoning men, a society resting upon ethical and religious foundations. The object of his labor was not first of all to gather Jews and then Gentiles into an ecclesiastical society having special laws or distinctive marks or *badges of a doctrinal kind* but into a self-constituted community, owning no other ties or duties than those proceeding from righteousness and mutual benevolence. The informal condition for entrance into Christ's Kingdom was not "be reformed," but "reform yourselves." This implies much more than the mere sentiment of penitence or repentance. It meant "to bring forth deeds meet for repentance." It meant that the individual must place himself on a par with the righteousness and justice of the Messianic Kingdom. The requirements were not Jewish or national in any sense. They were conditions pertaining to humanity in general and obligatory to the elementary needs of social and practical life. There was

nothing of a *religiously sectarian character* in the requirement that men should do to others as they would have others do to them. Jesus saw that the principle of brotherhood was the largest and most profoundly grounded of all the motives to human conduct. This principle of brotherhood needed no hierarchical guarantee or sacerdotal consecration. Christ placed no stress upon common worship or ritual, or, indeed, any other tie of a religious or doctrinal kind. The only religious service, so far as we have any record, in which Christ and his apostles joined together, was the hymn with which they concluded their celebration of the Passover, though this was probably no more than the chanted Psalm with which the Paschal feast was concluded in every Jewish household. Christ taught in the open air to people that were assembled by chance or impulse, and his disciples followed the same plan. There was throughout it all an absolute absence of any sacerdotalism which would be reasonably expected to develop into systematic ecclesiasticism.

The primary object of Jesus' teaching was the *inculcation of those qualities* and virtues which were specially needed by the ethical monarchianism which he proclaimed. As a true reformer, he took possession of the more vehement impulses of his nation and time and "remoulded them and directed them into the motive energies of his own cause." But he was wholly unanxious as to any connecting links and also of any external and formal kind by which the Divine and spiritual brotherhood of Christians,—sons of a common Father,—might be formed and sustained. Jesus has left but one obligation resting upon the person becoming a citizen of God's kingdom. This is *purity of heart*. It embraces all. It really requires that a man consecrate everything, his ambitions, his possessions, his talents, his complete loyalty, and his love, to God. Complete acknowledgment of the rule of God in a man's economic, social, intellectual, moral, and religious life, gives him a right conception of wealth and its use, a proper social consciousness, a moral relation to the universe, true ethical standards, and above all, the knowledge that he has the approval of his divine King and Father.

CHAPTER IV

PETER

TWO fishermen stood upon the western shore of Galilee mending their nets and getting ready for the evening task while the cumbrous but sturdy boat rocked upon the waters near by. Of these two brothers, the elder is of special interest to us and we will tarry here long enough to describe him. His is a commanding figure, tall and powerful; a body fashioned for service and hardened by toil to endure without fatigue the hardships and privations of a fisherman's life. He stood a head taller than the average Jew, fully six feet, broad-shouldered, deep-chested, with a short, thick neck, prominent chin and a wide, firm mouth. His face was broad and full, and his complexion, florid, with prominent large black eyes and a typical Jewish nose; his forehead was both high and broad, and his head was covered with short-cut thick black curling hair but slightly sprinkled with grey. He had in very large degree the mental characteristics which accompany such a physique. He was impulsive, outspoken, quick to act but rather slow of thought. His was not a Jewish type, though he himself was a full-blooded Jew; but much nearer that of the great Germanic races. His physical and mental make-up would pass him as an Anglo-Saxon who is wont to act, and then if compelled, to do some thinking afterwards. This is no empty rhetorical statement. History draws clearly the great racial characteristics; physical and mental tendencies. This is clearly seen in a study of the Spanish, French and English peoples. The Spaniards and the French are thoughtful and retrospective, and have received their institutions and laws ready made from an autocratic government. The Englishman has ever been quick to act. He has surveyed his own lands, made his own roads, raised his own government, and enacted his laws such as

he wanted. Even his religion is individual. The Englishman has acted ever, but does not theorize. If his possession was challenged he then thought out a reason for his conduct which was satisfactory to himself. But he first made sure that where he placed his foot, there it would remain. Thought followed, but did not precede action.

An examination of the life and character of St. Peter shows him to have all the characteristics of this great Germanic race. A man of strong and dominating personality. If such a man would walk down the streets of a city today, the passers-by would halt and gaze after him and wonder who he was.

It was this man who fastened the attention of Jesus as he was taking his customary walk along the sea-shore. He halted and fell into conversation with him and his conviction deepened into certainty that he had found the man for whom he was searching, and he said to Simon, and incidentally to his brother Andrew: "Come, and I will make of you fishers of men." (See the three accounts in Matthew, Mark and Luke.) "And Simon and his brother Andrew left their nets and followed."

According to the Gospel of Mark, Simon was the first person whom Jesus called to discipleship and it shows careful discrimination on the part of Jesus, for Simon soon demonstrated that he was a born leader of men. It was not by chance that the Master showed a discriminating favoritism to Simon and bestowed upon him the nickname of Peter (rock), for subsequent history was to prove that the first chosen of the disciples was also the first in steadfastness, in courage, in ability, and in faith.

Peter was ever foremost among the disciples so long as Jesus lived, and was so recognized by him. Mark mentions Peter thirteen times, Matthew, twenty times, Luke, eleven times, and whenever other disciples are mentioned, Peter is named first. He is ever the spokesman for the others as well as for himself. He frequently passes beyond the bounds of propriety in his thoughtless enthusiasm and is rebuked by the Master. One example of this must suffice. Immediately after Peter's recognition of his Master's Messiahship, Jesus

began to give instruction to his disciples touching the coming end of his mission on earth, saying that he "must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders, chief priests, and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day." Then Peter took him aside, and began to rebuke him, saying: "Be it far from thee, Lord; this shall not be unto thee." This was, no doubt, kindly meant. The loving impulsive heart of Peter could not brook this. His eager championship of his Master's cause and his somewhat overconfidence in his own ability to avert the disaster and to rescue the Messiah from all trials and affliction, burst the bounds of propriety. But he knew not what he said, and he must have been profoundly astonished at his Master's words: "Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art an offense unto me, for thou savorest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men." These seem strange and even harsh words to address to Peter when he meant only to speak forth the impulsive faith of a loving heart. But when we go beneath the surface, we get at once the key to their interpretation. What was it that Peter would have placed before Jesus? It was the kingdom without the cross.

Commentators on the life of Peter, throughout all the intervening years have made much of the very dramatic incident of his denial of the Master upon the night of his arrest. They have called him a renegade and a coward. But it may be well before passing judgment to remember that of all the disciples Peter was the only one who accompanied Jesus to the place of his trial, according to the Synoptic Gospels. (John is too late to be of much value only as a verifier of the Synoptic.) Even the beloved John was far behind and doubtless hidden by some friendly corner. Moreover, Peter was the only one of the disciples that had offended against the majesty of the Roman law. He had drawn a sword, to carry which was forbidden by Roman law to any but soldiers and policemen and had struck off the ear of a servant of the high priest commissioned to make the arrest. No one had police jurisdiction in Jerusalem save the Roman governor and he must have delegated his authority to the high priest. This being the case, Peter had doubly offended against Rome

and was liable to the punishment of death for treason. His was a position of real danger and yet his courage and devotion caused him to run this added risk. All this was doubtless known to Jesus who readily restored him to favor. Surely no other disciple had any right to cry "coward" to Peter.

It was this same Peter who so flagrantly denied his Master but a few weeks before, that "stood up among his brethren" and acted as their leader and spokesman in the appointment of Matthias to fill the place made vacant by the deposition of the traitor Judas. Thus quickly had he regained the confidence of his associates. This is the very best of testimony for his ability and native force. On many other occasions undisputed preëminence was accorded him and that most justly. For something over ten years he was the leading figure in the church at Jerusalem, filling with credit a most dangerous and difficult position.

Matthew has recorded (xvi, 18) a marvelous commission given to Peter by Jesus in the following words: "When Jesus came into the coasts of Caesarea Phillipi, he asked his disciples, saying, Who do men say that I, the son of man, am? And they said, Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets. He saith unto them, But who say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven. And I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Such a marvellous commission given to one of the children of men can only be accepted with hesitation, even though it be the foundation upon which rests the Papal structure. No other gospel records this, and Tatian, in his *Diatesseron*, says nothing about it, though such a sweeping statement would surely have

attracted his attention. The germ of this story is in the older gospel of Mark (viii, 27-30): "And Jesus went forth and his disciples into the villages of Caesarea Phillipi; and on their way back he asked the disciples saying unto them, Who do men say that I am? And they told him, saying, John the Baptist, and others Elijah, but others, One of the prophets. And he asked them, But who say ye that I am? Peter answered and saith unto him, Thou art the Christ. And he charged them that they should tell no man of him." Says Prof. Kersopp Lake, perhaps the greatest authority upon early Christian literature, "The question of the historical character of the Matthean addition to the Marcan narrative is exceedingly difficult; but it is hard to think that if it were really authentic it would have been omitted from all the other gospels and it most probably belongs to the little group of passages in Matthew which seem to represent early efforts at church legislation, rather than a strictly historical narrative." Subsequent editors must have added the commission to Peter when the controversy over his supremacy was waxing strong. Comparative criticism makes this clear enough. If Jesus when he asked the question, applied to himself the title, "Son of man," as in Matthew, then Peter surely would have known that this was the name for Messiah as given in the vision of Daniel, and Jesus would not have said to him "flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee."

Peter's one great sermon was his Pentecostal address and he never got beyond this so far as we know. It was pointed and courageous in the extreme. No hesitation on Peter's part and no fear of consequences. He did not flinch from giving his view of the career of the Nazarene. He did not hunt for soft and meaningless words that would give no offence or that could be interpreted in several different ways, in depicting the sins which he charges home to the consciences of his hearers but with the blunt and unpolished language of the fisherman, he declares; "Him ye have taken, and by wicked hands crucified and slain; that same Jesus whom ye crucified is both Lord and Christ." It will be seen that the central thought of this great sermon was Jesus and Him

crucified; a suffering Messiah. There is in it nothing whatever about the Kingdom of God which was the one theme in which the Master spent his life in elaborating. Thus it was that the Master's estimate of values was reversed, by his leading disciple, and emphasis "changed from the gospel itself to the evidence of its truth; from the message to its author; to the Messiahship of Jesus." "Witness-bearing to the resurrection" was the burden of all the preaching of the disciples. The outcome of this intense but rather narrow and one-sided view was to reverse values and to place more stress upon the death, than upon the life and marvellous teachings of Jesus. But we must not forget that Peter was an unlearned Jewish fisherman, and his mind had never been quickened and trained, as was that of Paul, by years spent in the study of law and philosophy. He only began to see what his great Teacher was driving at when that great Teacher was removed by death. The last events, so spectacular and dramatic, impressed themselves upon his mind at the expense of the more prosaic but vital lessons of the Master's life.

The oldest record we have concerning the resurrection of Jesus is that of Paul in I Corinthians, xv, 5-8. Paul here makes the statement that "he was first seen of Cephas. . . ." This might well be in accordance with the fixed purpose of Jesus who had always honored Peter beyond the other disciples. Peter's declaration of faith in the resurrection, given in his enthusiastic way, would go far toward the restoration of faith and courage on the part of the other disciples. This being the case, the one-time denier of his Master may well be considered, as McGiffert says, "the second founder of the Christian Church."

Christianity did not deliver a new law, nor found a new society, nor communicate to mankind a rigid system of doctrines all ready-made to hand. It came up out of Judaism and can only be understood as a development of the Jewish church. The Christian Church did not assume all at once a distinct and separate existence. Its first members had their own meetings, indeed, in each other's houses and in upper rooms rented for the occasion; but with these they combined

a regular attendance upon the Temple services. They believed in the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth. In this they differed from the Jews; they were knit to each other in the bonds of a brotherhood which had its origin in a common experience of a great salvation. But they observed the Mosaic law with fidelity. They did not see with any clearness the shape which their new movement was finally to take, and in all probability, the thought of separation from the Jewish church had never entered into their minds. The preaching of Peter and the other disciples was pure Judaism.

Unfortunately for our purpose we have nothing recorded in Acts save detached and isolated statements touching the work of Peter. Luke seems to have had his interests and affections all centered in Paul and has consequently given us but a superficial and absolutely inadequate account of the work of the Apostle of the circumcision. After his pentecostal sermon almost nothing is recorded, but we know from the nature of the man that his entire energy was spent in earnest effort to convert his Jewish brethren to the faith. When Paul visited Jerusalem, three years after his conversion (39), Peter was the leading spirit among the disciples in the city. Indeed it would appear that he had remained here for ten years and had become so prominent in the life of the church at Jerusalem that he was singled out by Herod along with James the brother of John for persecution and thrown into prison from which he escaped by miraculous intervention. We know nothing further about him until the time of the second council at Jerusalem (in 58), but he evidently spent this time in missionary work among the Jews for this purpose finally giving up his residence in Jerusalem, James the Less becoming the head of the church in his stead, which position he held till the time of his martyrdom in 67. After meeting with Paul at Antioch in 46 (58) (Gal. ii, 11) it is impossible to speak with any degree of accuracy concerning the movements of Peter. He doubtless spent some time in visiting the various cities of Syria, evangelizing the Jews that were scattered throughout these places. One thing seems clear, and it points to the work and influence of Peter in no uncertain way, the churches

throughout Syria were Petrine in doctrine and sentiment to a remarkable degree. This fact can not be accounted for upon any other basis than that of Peter's missionary activity throughout this region. There is a tradition, seemingly well established, to the effect that Peter was for some time the head of the church at Antioch, using this as a center for his missionary activities. Peter must have left Jerusalem to take up his residence at Antioch, three hundred miles to the north of that city, in order to be nearer the scene of his activities.

While we may not be able to determine Peter's itinerancy with such a degree of accuracy as we would like, we can tell what the nature and scope of his preaching was from his Pentecostal address and the few further evidences which we can glean from scattered statements in Acts, the First Epistle of Peter, and later statements in the Fathers. He was primarily a witness to the resurrection and the ascension of Jesus, and his Messiahship. His speech is full of the traditional Messianic conceptions with which he has overlaid his memory of the vivid personality and human comradeship of Jesus. He proceeds, in thoroughly Jewish fashion, to prove, from the prophet David, his own assumption of the resurrection: "Brethren, I may say unto you freely of the Patriarch David, that he both died and was buried, and his tomb is with us this day. Being therefore, a prophet and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne; he foreseeing this spoke of the resurrection of Christ, that neither was he left unto Hades nor did his flesh *see corruption*. This Jesus did God raise up, whereof we are all witnesses" (Acts ii, 29-32). This in itself indicates the simplicity and lack of any metaphysical or philosophical speculation on Peter's part and makes it possible to trace his influence throughout the church as distinct from that of Paul. His further doctrines may be gleaned from his scattered statements. In Acts iii, 19, he says: "Repent ye, therefore and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the time of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord." Again in his defense before the counsel which had summoned him to state the

authority under which he acted in creating the disturbance at the temple, he said: (Acts iv, 10-12) "Be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by him doth this man stand before you whole. . . . This is the stone which was set at naught by you builders, which is become the head of the corner. Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." Thus the Messianic Deliverance from all evils for which Israel was looking was to be found in this Jesus and no other person. This is all of the teaching of Peter, but it is enough. The magnificent philosophy of the great mind of Paul did not in reality add anything to this. The preaching of all the teachers of the Apostolic Age, save that of Philip, but voiced the thought of Peter. It makes of him the sublime evangelist of the world and shows with clear vision why he was the "Prince of the Apostles."

The historian must hesitate to accept as authentic the story of Ananias and Sapphira as recorded in Acts v, 1-13. On the face of it the story appears as much out of place as does the testimony of Josephus to the divinity of Christ. It is totally unworthy of Peter and absolutely contrary to the spirit and example of the Great Master whom he so devotedly loved. It is very easy to prove this from the teachings of Jesus. One example must suffice. Jesus decided after having been preaching for some time in Samaria, to make a journey to Jerusalem. He sent messengers before him into a village of the Samaritans in order that they might make ready to receive him, but for some unknown reason they refused hospitality to him. "And when his disciples James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them even as Elias did? But he turned and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." (Luke ix, 52-56.) If this were indeed an act of Peter and the church kept up the custom of having all unfaithful members who attempted to deceive the holy spirit fall dead with

heart failure, the living would not be sufficient to bury the dead. If Luke wrote this, then he here denies what he said in Acts ii, 48, that "the believers shared all they had with one another." This is undoubtedly one of the cases where the original text of Acts has been corrupted by a later addition from the numerous growths of apocryphal literature.

The early church never questioned Peter's residence in Rome and his martyrdom in that city, and indeed, there can really be no doubt of this as the fact is as well authenticated as any in history. The tradition of his martyrdom in Rome is as old and as universal as that in regard to Paul. Many modern scholars, led by the acrid controversies with Romanism, and the fact that many things patently false became incorporated in the original tradition by the end of the second century, have rejected the whole story and have taken the position (as did Lipsius in 1872) that Peter was never in Rome. The tradition is, however, too strong to be set aside with ease. Cicero boasts with much plausibility that the Romans were a deeply religious people and the study of Roman law also carries this conviction. This does not mean that they developed a speculative theology as did the Greeks, or that their morals were austere and guarded as were those of the Pharisees. It did not even imply that they devoted their lives to well-doing. It only meant that they observed a ritual as complete and exacting as that of the Jews which left untouched no act of their public or private life. The Roman gods had no concern with virtue; they left that to the acquisition of man himself. But they watched over birth, marriage, death, and burial; over war and peace; over agriculture and commerce; over the economy of family and state. They consecrated oaths and treaties and avenged their violation. They were pledged to the prosperity of the state. Before undertaking any public enterprise they consulted the deities and gave thanks to them and offered sacrifices and prayers for every victory. As Rome extended her conquests over the neighboring countries she brought home the vanquished deities and erected a temple for their residence, but far above them all towered, on his lonely hill, Jupiter Capitolinus, and the polytheism of the nation was

rapidly merging into a Divine Monarchy of which Caesar was the visible image, the incarnation of the imperial state when Christians began to preach their glad tidings in the Jewish quarters beyond the Tiber. We can no longer ascertain with any accuracy, when that movement actually began. An early tradition has associated this with the arrival of St. Peter in Rome and the year 42 A. D. as the time. It is first recorded by Jerome that Peter resided in Rome for twenty-five years. He says: "In 42 St. Peter was sent to Rome, where, preaching the gospel twenty-five years, he remains bishop of the same city," (*de vir. ill. c. I*). Where Jerome got his authority for this statement is not known and he is too far removed from the time himself to be of much value as a source (340-420). It is certain that Paul wrote his epistle to the Romans in 58 A. D., and a church existed there at that time which must have been in a flourishing condition. In 61 Paul was himself living in Rome and had associated with him Timothy, Titus, Luke, and Apollas. He says nothing about meeting Peter there, though he mentions the Christian friends. Though we do not know who founded this church, the martyrdom of Paul and Peter certainly took place there and the Roman church was a double apostolic seat.

The sources for the study of this question are the canonical and apocryphal books of the New Testament and the traditional evidence in the Church Fathers. The New Testament records the birthplace of Peter and gives his occupation as a fisherman in partnership with Zebedee and his sons, James and John. It tells us of his marriage and call by Jesus as the first of his disciples. It shows that he became the conspicuous leader in the Apostolic college, but it does not give any clue to his movements after the notice given of him by Paul in Galatians, with the exception of the reference in I Peter which is by some unknown hand. If now we take up the traditional evidence in the Fathers the claim for a residence of Peter in Rome for a time at least, will become sufficiently clear. The Petrine tradition of Residence in Rome was universally believed in Western Christendom at least from the end of the third century. We will

start here with this tradition accepted by all and work backward toward the Apostolic age, quoting the authorities as we go:

1. The official lists and records of the Church of Rome consider the whole question as settled beyond any doubt. Of these records, some rest upon early sources.

2. The transference of Peter's remains to the catacombs which took place in 258, shows that the Church deemed its tradition definite and unquestioned very early in the third century.

3. The writings of Caius (Presbyter of the Roman Church), Origen (185-253), Clement of Alexandria (180-221), Tertullian (155-230) indicate that the tradition was accepted in Rome, Asia, Alexandria, and Carthage at the same time although the churches in these localities were mutually jealous and often antagonistic.

4. The testimony of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (d. in 165), who was a contemporary of Soter, bishop of Rome, (166-174) whom he mentions in an epistle to the Roman Church. This epistle furnishes the earliest explicit statement that Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at the same time. His statement is as follows: "It is therefore recorded that Paul was beheaded at Rome itself, and that Peter was crucified at the same time. This account of Peter and Paul is confirmed by the fact that their names are preserved in the cemeteries of that place even to the present time." It is confirmed no less by a member of the Church, Caius by name, a contemporary of Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome. He says, in an argument with a Gnostic opponent, "But I am able to show you the trophies of the apostles. For if you will go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way, you will find the trophies of those who laid the foundations of this Church." Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, (d. 116) carries the tradition back through the second century. He states (Ad. Rom. iv): "I do not command you as did Peter and Paul." When you consider that this letter was written to the members of the Roman Church it becomes perfectly clear that Ignatius meant that the Roman Church had been founded, or at least governed by the Apostles.

6. The clear testimony of Clement of Rome, who was martyred in 96, and who was almost certainly a convert of Peter and well acquainted with him, makes a connecting link at the close of the first century. He says (*Ad. Cor. i, 5, 6*): "But to leave the ancient examples, let us come to the champions who lived nearest our times; let us take the noble examples of ours. On account of jealousy and envy, the greatest and most righteous pillars of the church were persecuted, and condemned even unto death. Let us set before our eyes the good apostles; Peter who on account of unrighteous jealousy endured not one or two, but many sufferings, and so, having borne his testimony, went to his deserved place of glory."

The first to mention Peter's death by crucifixion is Tertullian (*De Praescrip. Haer. c. 36*) but he cites it as a well established fact. Origen is the first to record that Peter was crucified with his head downward, but the tradition after his time became quite common. The story is too late to be of any historic value.

The above is the list of sources for the tradition that Peter was in Rome at least for a time, and suffered martyrdom there. When taken together they form a very solid basis of truth, practically irresistible, indeed, in the entire absence of any other tradition. Kirsopp Lake, after reviewing this evidence, says: "The most important and widespread tradition is that Peter came to Rome; and though this tradition has often been bitterly attacked, it seems to be probable that it is at least in outline quite historical. The evidence is sufficient to establish the fact that Peter, like Paul, had a wide missionary career ending in a violent death at Rome, though the details are not recoverable."

In the past forty years there is no writer on church history of any note that does not accept the record of Peter's residence and death in Rome as established. But this does not go so far as to accept the statement of Jerome, given above as to Peter's bishopric of twenty-five years. The length of his residence can not be established. Justin Martyr (*Apology, i, 26*) is evidently the authority for the early date given by Jerome. He seems to place Peter's arrival in

the city in the reign of Claudius, but this involves difficulties so great that it cannot be accepted.

The acceptance of Peter's residence in Rome does not by any means carry with it the recognition of all the assertions which form a part of the catholic Petrine tradition. "The honor in which his memory was held by the Christians of Rome, and the way in which his figure overshadows that of Paul, can hardly be explained on merely dogmatic grounds. Nothing less than his leadership and domination in the Roman church can account for the result." (McGiffert.)

There are three New Testament books which are connected with the name of Peter by early tradition. These are the First and Second Epistles of Peter, and the Gospel of Mark. For a brief discussion of the epistles see chapter XIII. It is here sufficient to say that it is practically certain that Peter had nothing to do with their authorship. Mark was, however, the spokesman and interpreter of Peter. Of this there seems ample testimony. Eusebius, writing in 314-324, says (ii, 15): "And so greatly did the splendor of piety illumine the minds of Peter's hearers that they were not satisfied with hearing once only, and were not content with the unwritten teachings of the divine Gospel, but with all sorts of entreaties they besought Mark, a follower of Peter . . . that he would leave them a written monument of the doctrine which had been orally communicated to them. Nor did they cease until they had prevailed with the man, and had thus become the occasion of the writing which bears the name of Mark . . . Peter . . . was pleased with the zeal of the man, and the work obtained the sanction of his authority for the purpose of being used in the churches." (McGiffert's trans.) But Papias, a contemporary of Polycarp, and bishop of Hieropolis, says, in his *Expositions of the Sayings of Jesus*: "Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately whatever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ, not, however, in order, for he had not heard the Lord, nor had he followed him; but afterwards, as I have said, he followed Peter who adapted his instructions to the needs of those who heard him, but without attempting to give a

connected account of the Lord's utterances. So that Mark did not err when he thus wrote some things down as he remembered them; for he was careful of one thing,—not to omit any of the things which he had heard, nor to falsify anything in them." This seems to be conclusive evidence, and is upheld by what we know of the Gospel of Mark. It was written by a resident of Rome who was himself a Christianized Jew, and a man of liberal spirit who had gotten far away from racial prejudices. This description suits Mark. There is also strong evidence in the Gospel that the statement of Papias is correct. It has an abrupt and bold forcefulness that is a very peculiar characteristic of Peter. It is absolutely free from any suspicion of philosophy or of literary finish. That we could expect from an unlettered man who had reached middle life as a toiler on the sea. There are in its pages no bigotry and no controversy. Peter, too, had passed beyond these, and had no time to waste in anything but the burning message of his Master. Mark being nothing but the amanuensis of Peter, the latter is in reality the author of this second Gospel and this makes the history of the Roman church quite easy of comprehension. The underlying principles of Christianity which the church at large had quite generally accepted were those of Peter and not Paul. This becomes very clear as we progress. Peter preached what was in accord with the belief prevailing most widely among the Christians at Rome. It was this that caused his figure to overshadow that of Paul, and not because he was the leading spirit among the Twelve or was resident in Rome many years before, or some years after the death of the "apostle to the Gentiles."

After Peter once came unto himself everything that he either did or said was in the name of Jesus. Witness his first miracle, the healing of the lame man at the "door of the temple that is called Beautiful" . . . "Peter said, silver and gold have I none, but what I have, that give I thee. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk." This is the true spirit of God's evangelist. He has neither silver nor gold and is too busy upbuilding the Kingdom of Heaven to work for it. Peter had the ardent soul of the evangelist

nominated to his work by God. He was active and impetuous, and frequently abrupt, and sometimes wrong. He resembled a rushing mountain stream driving on in full flood, broken now and then by a rocky fall, but giving to the onlooker the idea of tremendous power as it tumultuously sweeps away obstacles before it. Some years later "the first and greatest of the Apostles" was sacrificed over yonder in old Rome, and it was not necessary for him to make a will, for he had nothing to leave but an untarnished name and the memory of a life spent in the loyal and loving service of his Great Master. Beautiful and thoroughly characteristic of his loyal and loving nature is the story of his end as given by Clement of Alexandria. "They say that the blessed Peter when he beheld his own wife being led forth to death, rejoiced by reason of her calling and her going home, and called to her right encouragingly and comfortably, addressing her by name with the words, 'Remember, thou, the Lord.' When it came his time to suffer he sent these words of faith and cheer to others: 'Beloved, take not as strange the fiery ordeal going on among you, sent to try you, as though a strange thing were befalling you. But inasmuch as you are partakers in the sufferings of the Christ, rejoice that at the revealing also of His glory ye may rejoice with exultation. If ye are being vilified for the name of Christ, blessed are ye; because the spirit of Glory and the spirit of God resteth on you. Let not, then, any of you suffer as a murderer, or a thief, or an evil-doer, or as a meddler in other men's business; but if as "a Christian" let him not be ashamed, but let him glory in this name. . . . Wherefore let them also that suffer according to God's will commit to a faithful Creator the safe-keeping of their lives, in well-doing.'"

CHAPTER V

THE EVANGELISTS, STEPHEN AND PHILIP

HAVING introduced Peter to us and recorded the beginning of his marvellous career as an evangelist, the author of Acts turns abruptly to other events that are taking place in Jerusalem and which are destined to have a far-reaching effect upon the development and spread of the teachings of Jesus. For a time the record of the preaching of the Twelve comes suddenly to an end and attention centers in the work of a new group of Hellenists who had come from their far homes to attend the Jewish passover and had been first attracted, and then converted to the new faith. The sixth chapter of Acts abruptly opens with these words: "And in those days, when the number of disciples was multiplied, there arose a complaint of the Hellenists against the Hebrews because their widows were being overlooked in the daily distribution of food. Therefore, the Twelve called together the main body of the disciples and said: It is not fitting that we should neglect preaching the word of God in order to serve meals. Therefore, brothers, select seven of your own number, men of good reputation, full of the Spirit and wisdom whom we will place in charge of this matter; but we will continue to devote ourselves to prayer and the ministry of the word. This plan met with the approval of the whole body. Accordingly they chose Stephen, a man full of the Holy Spirit, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolas, a proselyte from Antioch. These men they set before the apostles, who, after praying, laid their hands upon them."

It may be well to mention the fact that the term "disciples" (pupils) occurs here for the first time. It occurs three times in this record of the appointment of officers for the infant church and seven times in chapter nine. The

abruptness of the change and the use of this new word quite clearly points out a new document used by Luke in his writing. The names are all Greek, but this does not disguise the fact that with the exception of Nicolas they were all Jews of the dispersion, put upon an equal footing with the more conservative Hebrews of Palestine.

"Now it was that Stephen who was full of grace and power, began to perform great wonders and miracles among the people. But some of them who belonged to the so-called synagogue of the Lybians, and Cyrenians and the Alexandrians and also the nations of Cilicia and the Roman provinces of Asia began to dispute with Stephen, and they were not able to meet the wisdom and spirit with which he spoke."

We know nothing whatever of the birth and training of Stephen, but he must have been a man of some wealth and importance or he could not have made the expensive journey from one of the Jewish colonies in an African city to the passover at Jerusalem. He was undoubtedly educated liberally in some one of the numerous excellent schools of the north of Africa, probably that of Alexandria, and had the love of the Greek methods of teaching and expounding philosophy by dialogue and debate. Thus he was but following the usual method of the schools as practiced everywhere in the synagogues of the Jews of the dispersion. It was probably jealousy because of their defeat and not love of the truth which they deemed he was destroying, that caused his opponents to bring charges against Stephen before the Sanhedrin. His defense is but a brief of the philosophy of Jewish religious history. He even goes back beyond the Law as established in Ezra's time to the Covenant with Abraham, making this the basis of all. This is just what Paul did later. Certainly Stephen was only attempting to emphasize the spiritual teachings of the ethical prophets of old,—of Hosea and Micah, and preparing the way for his later emphasis upon the Messiah and the urging of his hearers to the acceptance of His message, when the stones began to fly and a howling mob took the law into their own hands and crushed out the life of one of the greatest

lights of the Apostolic Age, while he, with a face that "shone as the face of an angel," cried out, "Lord, let not this sin stand against them!"

"And at that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem and all except the apostles were scattered throughout Judea and Samaria. And those who were scattered went in different directions preaching the gospel." (Acts viii, 1.) Whether he himself thought this or not, the preaching and death of Stephen laid the foundation for the world-wide expansion of Christianity. It roused the conservative Jews to opposition which ripened into persecution so persistent and hateful as to produce a scattering of the Christians throughout Judea in the larger Roman sense, including Galilee, Perea, and Samaria. Large numbers of Jews were no doubt present from these territories, at the Passover, and had heard Stephen preach and debate in Jerusalem. These scattered to their homes, and before long, through their efforts the fire of Christianity flamed up in the faraway cities of northern Africa and western Syria. Stephen's mantle, as we shall see later, fell upon the shoulders of a young man named Saul, who stood by consenting to his death, but Luke first takes up the work in Samaria.

In Acts viii, 5, 6, we find this brief statement: "Then Philip went down to the city of Samaria and preached Christ unto them. And the people with one accord gave heed unto these things which Philip spoke, hearing and seeing the miracles which he did," and in Acts viii, 12, the further statement occurs: "But when they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the Kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ they were baptized, both men and women."

The Samaritans were a people of mixed blood. The Jews, living in scattered country homes through this territory, were left behind when the greater portion of the population of the northern kingdom were carried off and distributed in colonies throughout Syria and Media. Colonists from these kingdoms were sent into Samaria to occupy the vacant places. These intermarried with the Israelites and formed the Samaritan people of the time of Christ. The Jews thoroughly

despised the Samaritans because of this mixture of blood, but they nevertheless recognized the fact that the Samaritans were their kindred. Common traditions, institutions, and worship bound the two peoples together. The Samaritans accepted the Jewish Pentateuch as their scriptures but rejected the additions that had been made by the scribes and pharisees. Both Jew and Samaritan shared the hope of a coming Messiah. The Samaritans were a simple, more open-minded people than were the Jews, and without the intense and stubborn prejudices of the latter. For this reason Samaria offered a fruitful field for the spread of the new teachings.

It is remarkable that in so short a time after the choosing of the seven Greeks for the "service of tables," two of them should already surpass the twelve in evangelistic work. There is another remarkable thing about the preaching of Philip. He is the only one of the preachers of the Apostolic Age who made his theme the Kingdom of God; who preached the Gospel of Jesus and not the Gospel about Jesus. His method was very largely that of Jesus himself, a healer of both the bodies and the souls of men. Doubtless it is from Philip that Luke obtained many of the marvellous parables of the kingdom which reappeared in his gospel, for Luke was with Paul when the latter visited Philip, at his home in Caesarea. The peculiar phrase which is added to Philip's central teaching of the Gospel of the Kingdom of God, namely, the Gospel of the name of Jesus, indicates a primitive interpretation of the character and messianic work of Jesus without any of the subsequent philosophy of Paul and John. A wonderful and beautiful message it was that he bore to the citizens of Samaria, and subsequently, to the towns toward the north and west which he revisited and evangelized on his homeward journey to Caesarea. One other service of Philip is of great importance in the enlargement of the bounds of the infant church. This was his baptism of the court official, or Eunuch, of Candace the Queen of Ethiopia. It would appear that Philip returned to Jerusalem from Samaria with Peter and John after the visit of inspection of the work of the Evangelist, made by these apos-

ties. But he was immediately directed by the spirit "to journey south along the road from Jerusalem to Gaza" (this is the desert route). On this journey he fell in with the treasurer of Queen Candace as he was making the return journey from Jerusalem where he had been to attend the Passover, to Meroe, the capital of Ethiopia. (Do not think of him as a negro.) The guiding of the spirit in no way precludes a plan on Philip's part to overtake this representative of the far south and attempt his conversion, as the universal belief, not only among Jews but also, all the peoples of the East, was that every man was accompanied continually by a good spirit that directed all his actions. The conversion and baptism of the Ethiopian meant the establishment of a company of believers in far off and mysterious Ethiopia whose eyes would ever turn with loving solicitude toward the holy city of Jerusalem. From the meeting with the Ethiopian, Philip passes on to the coast town of Azotus, to the north of Gaza some twenty miles, and thence to other towns toward Caesarea, where he preached the Gospel in each. Here his evangelistic labors cease so far as any record shows. Gradually a door is being opened to the Gospel by way of the half-way houses of Samaritans and proselytes. "When the Half-Gods go, the Gods arrive."

"Now they that were scattered by the tribulation occasioned by the death of Stephen reached in due course as far as Phoenicia and Cyprus and Antioch, speaking the word to none but unto Jews only. But there were some of them men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, when they came to Antioch, spake also to the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jesus." (Acts xx, 19, 20.)

It would seem by the above statement in Acts that it was neither Peter nor Paul nor one of the seven, that first carried the message of Jesus to the Gentiles. They who performed the task were simply new converts, who, on their way home from Jerusalem, tarried here and in true brotherly spirit carried to others the message which they themselves had received, without asking whether they were of the seed of Abraham. Here was furnished the clear and undoubted proof that Jesus had called the children of men and not

simply Jews, into the Kingdom of God, for as a response to this wholly unauthorized evangelism, "large numbers were brought unto the Lord." The news of this was carried up to the disciples at Jerusalem, even as the work of Philip at Samaria had been reported, and the sweet-spirited Barnabas, who was neither one of the Twelve nor the Seven, was sent down to view the work. He was the right man. "He came and saw and was glad; and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart, they would cleave unto the Lord." Thus, as it generally happens, the man who does the work, receives no crown. Some one, name unknown, whose spirit was full of the Christ, and, because of this, knew no distinction of race or creed, carried the Gospel of Jesus to the Gentiles. He waited for no "vision on a housetop"; no angel "appeared and beckoned unto him"; his own heart called him and he went. It was not Barnabas, nor Lucius, nor Peter nor Paul who planted the *ecclesia* among the Gentiles; just some "lover of men." History does some good things. "The disciples were first called Christians at Antioch."

Barnabas continued the work of the unknown and, having hunted up his friend Saul, besought him to help in the further evangelization of the rich and profligate city of Antioch. This was the beginning of the great Gentile mission. Antioch became the mother church of Gentile Christianity. It had called to its aid the profoundest missionary that the world has ever seen.

It would appear from above that within a period of some six years from the death of Jesus, his teachings had passed beyond the narrow bounds of Judaism and Palestine and found numerous disciples in the far-away capital city of Antiochus Epiphanes who especially distinguished himself as the great persecutor of the Jewish race in his endeavors to crush their religion.

The spirit of persecution which flamed up in the death of Stephen in 32 A. D. was apparently aimed at the Hellenists rather than all the followers of Jesus. A time of peace and quiet succeeded to that outbreak of fury during which Christianity made steady progress. Fourteen years after the death of Stephen, in the brief but disastrous reign of Herod

Agrippa I, persecution again broke out, but this time was, no doubt, for political reasons. Herod the Great had a son, Aristobulus, by his ill-starred marriage with Mariamne, the Maccabean princess. This son was put to death by Herod on the charge of plotting treason against his father. He, however, left a son, Herod Agrippa, who was sent to Rome to be educated at the Roman court. Here he plunged into all manner of dissipation which was open to a youth of royal blood and pleasing personality. At the age of forty he was bankrupt and out of favor at the imperial court. He returned to Judea and became a pensioner of his uncle, Herod Antipas, through the favor of his sister Herodias. But he soon fell into disfavor and returned to Rome where upon the death of Tiberius and the accession of Caligula, he was given the tetrarchy of Philip with the title of king. In 41, he was further honored by the gift of all Palestine, making his kingdom equal in size to that of his grandfather, Herod the Great. This not only gave to him the territory which his uncle Herod Antipas had held, but also bestowed upon him the power of appointing the high priest. He, however, had a bad reputation among the pious Jews as one who scoffed at the religion of his ancestors. To gain favor he took the method of persecuting the Christians, and so had some of the leaders arrested and cast into prison. He put James the Greater to death (and according to Papias, his brother John, also). Peter was saved by miraculous intervention, but left the city and went to Antioch, James the Less (brother of Jesus) becoming the head of the Jerusalem church in his stead. (44.)

CHAPTER VI

PAUL

THE immediate companions of Jesus, the Twelve, who had received first-hand impressions of his personality and teachings; who had sat at table with him and entered into his inner life, have left scarcely a mark upon the pages of history. With the exception of Peter, with whom tradition has been active, the apostles are names and nothing more. It is for this reason especially that interest attaches to the one actor whose individuality has survived and with whom we may claim a speaking acquaintance. It is not necessary for us to make extravagant claims, or do any special pleading for the apostle Paul. As compared with other purely historic characters, Paul's career has an abiding charm for all those who care (may their tribe increase) for the moral and spiritual side of history or for its religious beginnings. The whole field of history, the entire concept of history, has been revolutionized in the past sixty years. The classic compositions of antiquity have been laid aside as "magnificent ruins," and the searchlight of investigation has penetrated and dispelled the misty halos about the heads of old-time heroes, from Solomon to Washington. It is worth our while to discover, if we can, how the figure of Paul bears the light of modern investigation when viewed as a contributor to the world's higher growth.

Our knowledge of Paul is drawn from two sources and only two: the letters which have come down to us from his own hand, and the somewhat fragmentary and composite narrative of the history of the early church, under the name of "The Acts of the Apostles," which has reached us from the early years of the second century. The explanation of this dearth of sources is not far to seek. It is due to the universal expectation of the quickly coming end of the world.

The disciples interpreted some of the sayings of Jesus to mean that he would quickly come again, even in their own generation, to set up his kingdom. While the people looked daily for the end of the world no heed was paid to existing institutions and passing events. This would look like sheer foolishness to them. The Apostle Paul partook of this feeling and gives us everywhere evidence of this expectancy on his part. This accounts in very large measure for the fragmentary nature of our sources. Then, too, very few of the early Christians were educated enough to be able to perform such a task.

In one of his letters Paul gives us a description of himself as "of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee." This is an autobiography in one sentence. He was born at Tarsus in Cilicia, a place which Paul mentioned with native pride as "no mean city." It was, indeed, in population and commerce the third city of importance in the Roman Empire. It was situated upon one of the principal lines of commerce. The great military road from the East to Rome passed through Tarsus, while it was a port of entry and departure for all vessels plying on the Mediterranean Sea. On the one hand it had communication with Syria, while on the other a navigable stream gave access to the lands beyond the Taurus Mountains. Through these routes flowed a continual stream of commerce. Great rafts of timber were hewn in the forests of the Taurus and floated down the river to the dockyards of the city. As a boy Paul must have played about these and also seen the bales of costly merchandise from the East piled high upon the quays awaiting shipment to Rome. The busy mercantile life of the city impressed itself very deeply upon the vigorous young mind of Paul. His style of expression and mode of thought were here developed, and the metaphors and illustrations used by him in his Epistles are all drawn from this source. The busy thriving and populous city grew into his very life so that he thought in the terms of its streets. In this respect he differed fundamentally from Jesus who was country bred and his teachings are the offspring of country and village life. In them you

hear the rustle of green leaves, the songs of birds, the light tread of the rabbit as he hastens to cover upon the approach of the stranger. His pictures ever breathe the fresh and wholesome spirit of nature. In the cool of the evening after a day of labor at the bench, he leaves home and tasks behind and goes forth into the open air to commune with his Father. The people are standing in the narrow streets discussing the homely events of country life or speaking of the grey sky and the prospect of rain on the morrow. He passes through the gates far up on the hill-side where the bright wind-flowers and the violets grow and he ponders that Solomon's purple robes with all their gaudy splendor could not vie with one of these. He sees the sower in the field hard by and draws from his labor a marvellous lesson. He beholds the mustard in the garden. He walks and holds converse with the shepherd as he brings his sheep from the hills and sees them housed secure for the night, and he ponders over the Father's care for the sheep of His pasture. He even notices that a little sparrow has fallen from the roof and lies dead at his feet. Everything speaks to him of his loving Father who is present and ever working, carrying forward his plans for his children.

Paul also uses pictures drawn from nature, but his view is different from that of Jesus; his is a gloomy pessimistic vision. He sees not flowers and laughing children, but weary heavy-laden beasts of burden of a great city. Paul is early overcome with the weariness that marks the city-dweller of the ancient world. His pictures are taken from city life. We see with him the busy town life with its rows of shops, and the street through which, in honor of the returning victor, the gorgeous triumphant procession wends its way. He frequently takes his images from the soldier's life; the trumpets do service. He, no doubt, had been oftentimes waked from slumber when a boy, by their clear challenge to the rising sun. The theater and the race-course furnish him with metaphors. All these are inheritances of his childhood.

Tarsus was a frontier city for two very important languages of the time,—Greek and Aramaic (not Hebrew).

There was also a prominent and important school of philosophy and Greek culture situated here. Two legions of Roman soldiers were regularly situated at Tarsus with permanent and elaborate barracks for the men and quarters for the officers and their families. This added to the Eastern life and culture of the city the martial strength and pride of the dominating Romans, "with their intense love of justice and genius for law and order." Tarsus, then, exactly reproduced the mixed civilization of the age and gave a picture of many-sided life. It had absorbed the religions of the heathen Semites, the pagan Greeks, and the Syrians. Saul saw in his native city an example of the intellectual moral and social effects which sprang from heathenism. The first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans shows how completely he had learned this lesson and how deeply these pictures had sunk into his soul. Indeed, it was in his native city during the impressionable days of his youth that Saul's soul was filling with all those influences which made the man capable of becoming "a Jew unto the Jews and a Gentile to the Gentiles" that he might win them to his Master, for from the depths of his nature he understood them both.

Saul's residence in Tarsus throughout the period of his early youth amid such picturesque surroundings formed a large element in his training. These circumstances gave him three mother tongues: Aramaic, used at his father's fire-side and in which he received his early religious training; Greek, the language of business and the street, as well as that of philosophy and art (it was the language of the schools and as Jews have always been foremost in taking advantage of educational facilities, Saul was doubtless well-trained in this language.); Latin, the language of law and government. In all these Saul became fluent in his youth. In addition to all this he was a son of a conservative Jewish family, a Pharisee, and "Hebrew of the Hebrews." As such he was most strenuously and seriously trained in the discipline of his father's house. He, moreover, had the priceless advantage of Roman citizenship by birth. To all this he now added the severe and long-continued training of the justly celebrated School of the Pharisees at Jerusalem. His

father sent him here to be trained as a rabbi. His was the heritage of the school and not the fisherman's boat.

Many and varied are the influences that combine to fashion the man out of the boy, but it is well to remember this basic fact that the man always is fashioned out of the boy. The man is never an independent product. The atmosphere of home imprints its pictures on his mind. If his home is bare and sordid then bare and sordid will be the mind furniture of manhood. What he sees in the streets, the games, and his intercourse with his playmates, help silently but surely to mould his character. But greater even than this influence is the effect of the school with its traditions that have grown grey with age and its power to enter and take possession of the youthful mind.

Saul's father was doubtless a man of considerable wealth and influence. Had this not been the case he would not have possessed Roman citizenship which was bestowed at this time only by purchase or favoritism. He gave to his precocious son every possible educational advantage consistent with the strict views of a "Hebrew of the Hebrews." Thus at the early age of fifteen Saul was sent to Jerusalem to continue his studies. Here he was fortunate enough to fall into the hands of no less a person than Gamaliel, the head of that liberal school of thought founded by his grandfather Hillel. He was the most profound scholar and theologian of his age and became at once the friend and teacher of the youthful Saul. The one text book of the Jewish school was the Old Testament and this Saul practically committed to memory, while at the same time he made a careful study of the numerous volumes of interpretation and comment that had been written by scribes and lawyers on nearly every sentence. In this method of exegesis analogy and allegory were frequently brought in to elucidate the text. These were often far-fetched and fanciful in the extreme. This method of teaching accounts for many of the troublesome passages in Paul's epistles. He never emancipated himself from the methods of his school and remained unto the last a scholarly Jew. It became his business, as it was also the business of many other scholars of the rabbinical schools, to classify and analyze

this wealth of comment, learning its distinctions and differences, with painstaking zeal. This method of training was narrow and superficial in the extreme but it had some features of excellence.

Saul's life was charged with emotion; by temperament he lived continually at high pressure. Morally, intellectually, spiritually he was a man of eager, fiery, impetuous strength. His many-sided mind grasped and transformed the prosaic commentaries of the schools into the record of an ideal wonderland, and with vehement conviction and ardent temper he strove to restore the lost grandeur and purity of Judaism. He perfected himself in the knowledge of the law and quickly surpassed all his colleagues in brilliant attainments, and his great teacher must have been proud of him though deprecating his fiery championship of the narrow rabbinical traditions that, if persisted in, would forever unfit him for the liberal-minded and large-hearted tolerance which he had endeavored to instil into him during the many years of their association. This young scion of the Pharisees had now mastered the learning of the schools and was held in high estimation and trusted by the rulers of Israel. He was a rabbi and skilled in the learning which Judaism gave, but he had not lost his youthful enthusiasm and burning devotion to its ideals. He entered fully into its moral and religious spirit.

Saul's heritage was Judaism at its best. Let us see what that was. (1) In the first place and most valuable of all was the belief of his fathers in one God to whom they offered their sacrifices and whose guidance they daily asked in prayer. This God was not to Saul a mere epitome of the forces of nature or the invisible divinity of Plato's philosophy. Instead he was a *powerful holy person*, the one will that ruled over the world; the creator of the universe. To such, this personal God was the God of Hebrew history; the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; in fine, the God of his people. He was a *living God who had made himself known to his people*. It was not necessary to seek him out through the channels of rhetoric and philosophy. This God loved justice and mercy and hated iniquity.

The evolution of thought in our modern times has gone far beyond Saul's concept of the personality of the deity. The Jews never succeeded in grasping the concept of "God as a Spirit." The God of the Old Testament is but a man with powers indefinitely but prodigiously extended. So God "walked in the cool of the evening." God appeared to Abraham in the afternoon and carried on a conversation with him and partook of the roasted kid. The imagery is all materialistic. So also the New Testament speaks of God sitting on a throne, God's eye, God's right hand, God's feet, etc. This shows the carrying over into Christianity of the imagery of the Old Testament. Christianity has not yet risen to the full appreciation and understanding of Jesus' concept of God as a "spirit." Saul was a profound Jewish thinker and scholar but he was under the limitations of his age.

(2) Saul's conception of the universe was also inherited from his Pharisaic ancestry. The world was to him a three-storied building. The lowest story was the realm of the dead somewhat as pictured in Virgil. Above this story was the earthly realm occupied by the living. Still over this rose the stately heights of heaven with all its inhabitants. That this is Saul's concept is shown in Phil. ii, 10: "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth." Saul looked upon heaven as an arched dome wherein God dwelt surrounded by angels and spirits (cf. Greek Olympus). Within this vast heavenly dome was arranged many circles in a rising series. In these were "many mansions" in which the spirits of the departed righteous were already at rest. This was to Saul the eternal heavenly world.

(3) There is nothing in the thought of the ancients that is so hard for the modern mind to understand or appears more incongruous, than their ideas of a world of spirits that lay around and back of our world. Long ago, with increasing knowledge of the universe and God's presence in it as an everworking energy, angels black and angels white, imps and devils of all categories and descriptions, have been mere images of fancy, having "folded their tents like the Arabs" and silently stolen away. However, these were no images

of fancy to the Oriental of Saul's day. To him they were realities as much as were his parents, his wife, and his children. He would declare to you that he had seen and held converse with angels many a time just as a truth-loving Irishman will tell you he has seen and heard the Banshee. Pharisees believed in a host of spirits and demons that roamed in waste places. Each and every one had his good angel ever at his side. The Apocalyptic books of Daniel and Enoch are full of angels and spirits of all kinds. There was no portion of the doctrine of Saul's school that impressed him more or had greater influence upon him than did their world of spirits, and he never deemed it necessary on account of his changed belief to modify this inherited concept. However, it is well for us to keep in mind as we study this great character, that a person's conception of the universe has little or nothing to do with his faith. Saul held these views as a part of his inheritance touching earth, heaven and hell, that have become impossible of belief, but they are not of the spirit, and the greatness of a man's character has nothing to do with his idea of the universe. Thus the world idea which Saul obtained from the Pharisees has long been lost sight of while his belief in one God and in an eternal world beyond this visible one has been freed from the narrow form in which he received it and has grown with the advancing centuries.

(4) Saul's idea of the universe was that of a Jew of his time, as we have seen. His concept of man and the history of man partook of the same limitations. In fact Saul's mind was an epitome of the teaching and thought of his ancestors. They divided the history of the world into two epochs: the present aeon of the life of man here on earth, and the future aeon or the life of man in the future world. These two great epochs were split asunder by the awful catastrophe of the destruction of this present aeon and the incoming of the future one, the Kingdom of God. In the time of Jesus and Saul the Jews were looking for the quick-coming of the future aeon, God's Kingdom, with all the blessings that had been promised by the prophets of old and pictured by the apocalyptic writers. This aeon was

one of sin and trial and suffering, but it was hastening to its close and the new era was about to dawn when the curse of sin would be removed and the old world with all its evil and corruption would be transformed into a place of permanent happiness, fit dwelling-place for the righteous of the earth.

Adam bequeathed the "evil principle," said the Pharisees, to all posterity. Paul interprets this when he says: "For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive." But in the Apocalypse of Ezra, we have the same thought: "By reason of his evil heart the first Adam fell into sin and guilt, and also all who came after him. So the evil became continual; the law indeed dwelt in the hearts of men, but beside it the *evil principle*. So what was good, died out, but the bad remained." So Shakespeare says: "The evil that men do lives after them; the good ofttimes is interred with their bones." It is easy enough to see where Paul got his idea. But all Paul's learning was the interpretation of scripture, and his teachers only commented on the text. Paul also absorbed from them his idea of inspiration. To him not only were the contents holy but also the words themselves; all were equally the Word of God. The later ages of Judaism interpreted prophecy as the fore-telling of future events. This is what Paul does. Back of every idea of Paul lies some concept of his teachers. This does not mean that he had no independence of thought. It only means that his thought was a wholesome evolution from accepted principles. The same can be said of Jesus. Saul was at last, after nearly fifteen years of training, through with the schools and was admitted to the rank of a rabbi. In him was intense devotion. Love and a holy ambition glowed warm within his ardent nature. He now was ready to strive after great things, for the fulfillment of his life's dreams, the elevation of his nation's ideal. He wished not for ease, nor for riches nor honor. Effort and conflict was his portion and his delight. He was ready to sacrifice every hour of pleasure for the incoming of his nation's final glory. This hope was ever uppermost in the mind of Saul, the Pharisee, and for it his soul thirsted. And yet Saul's feet were still in the paths

of his fathers. He strove with all the powers of his ardent nature for the accomplishment of everything he deemed right and he vies with his Jewish contemporaries in zeal for national traditions. This was his spirit when he made the journey from his home in Tarsus to Jerusalem where God's Temple stood; where his friend Gamaliel and other learned doctors of the law guarded and studied the traditions of the fathers and strove to make of Israel a holy and just nation. Here it was that the young rabbi fell in with a *new sect* made up chiefly of fishermen of Galilee, and others equally ignorant, from that crude and contemptible country. These people said that the longed-for and expected Messiah had indeed come; that he had been condemned by the Sanhedrin and crucified by the Romans as a criminal. These people were gathering about them a large body of followers who owned allegiance to this "crucified Messiah," and were daily teaching and disputing in the temple and claiming to do wonderful things in his name. This appeared to Saul as the height of madness and his very soul rose up in indignant protest at this desecration of the holiest hope of his people. Saul was looking for the quick coming of a glorious Messiah. He believed that he could see the dawn of the new era. Were these peasants then to go on proclaiming as Messiah a criminal whom the Roman despot had nailed to the cross, and whom in derision of his people, they had robed in purple and hailed as "King of the Jews," while the street rabble mocked and jeered? Not so! Saul saw his duty plainly and he was not a man of half-measures. He would utterly destroy these madmen and blasphemers. This was the spirit of the "young man" at whose feet "the witnesses laid their clothes" when they stoned Stephen. He gloated over the "blood-stained body" of the first Christian martyr. What a long, long road this "young man" must have travelled before he was able in deep humility to write: "And if I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and if I give my body to be burned, but have not love, it profiteth me nothing."

Like many another person since his time Saul started to travel upon a journey the end of which he knew not. He started from Jerusalem with letters from the Sanhedrin, who,

having full confidence in the burning zeal and ability of their messenger, bestowed upon him the power to punish "the mad despoilers of the heritage of the children." With these letters still bound securely beneath his belt, a converted Christian, an apostle of the new faith, arrived at Damascus. What had taken place? Thus far the story of Saul the Pharisee has been a plain historical record, but as we now hunt for the antecedents of this remarkable and important event the evidence suddenly fails and we "feel our way to err." Paul says in his account of the resurrection visions of Jesus, I Corinthians xv, 1-8, "And last of all he appeared to me also as one born out of due season." In Galatians, i, 15, 16, he says, "God, who set me apart from my birth and called me by his grace, chose to reveal his Son in me that I might proclaim the good news concerning him to the brethren." These two brief statements are all that Paul has given us, and as they are autobiographical what is therein stated must have the right of way. He says in few words that while he was busying himself in "persecuting beyond measure the Church of God and wasting it," he received a subjective (inward) revelation which he immediately recognized as a call from God to preach the very Jesus whom he was busy persecuting. Paul goes on to say that the original disciples had no hand whatever in his conversion, nor did he seek them out after the event, but instead, he spent three years in Arabia and then returned to his home in Tarsus without communicating with the disciples for a period of some fourteen years. Entirely unaware of this simple and direct account of his conversion given by Paul himself, many years afterwards, the editor of the Book of Acts gave three various versions of this event, dramatizing it into a spectacular and supernatural affair, changing Paul in one moment from a persistent persecutor into an ardent Christian. This is almost impossible, and after all, adds nothing of value to the older and simpler account given by the Apostle himself. It is only a question of viewpoint. Faith cares not whether Paul actually saw Jesus in the flesh or whether it was a subjective vision that broke upon his startled spirit on the road to Damascus. An able writer has said: "On the day of his

conversion Saul died, having passed sentence on himself. A dead man now wanders over the surface of the earth without rest and without thought of self. He earns with his hands sufficient for his needs. He knows no home and no family. He has left behind all that binds men to the charm of life." But if the old Saul is dead, the new Paul lives, or according to his own words, "another lives in him, even the Christ of heaven." Let us now become acquainted with the new Paul.

Paul, when starting, in company with Barnabas, on his missionary journey was about forty-seven years old, worn with incessant labor and fasting. According to a late Christian tradition he would have cut a rather sorry figure when placed alongside of the Apostle Peter, as he was some two inches less than five feet in height, with shoulders narrow and stooped, a thin neck, and a long narrow face; large deep-set grey eyes rather far apart, and a long nose; eye-brows heavy and meeting in a straight line; forehead high, broad and full; head completely bald, and a long, rather thin, pointed grey beard. In his writings he indicates that he was handicapped by a weak and unattractive body, and this may well be true, but cripples do not travel seven thousand miles on foot, blind men do not see the things that Paul saw; the physically feeble do not endure the things that Paul endured and live to write about them, and a crippled tongue is not the instrument with which to utter the impassioned oratory of Mar's Hill. Much time and speculation if not thought, have been spent upon the meaning of Paul's "stake in the flesh," but if it were anything other than spiritual fluctuation it certainly was not "a club foot" or "blind eyes," or a "crippled foolish tongue."

Paul's conversion did not take away or lessen his power to think. Only the direction of his thought and activity was changed on the road to Damascus. He placed his trained and quickened intellectual powers in the service of his new faith and so developed a new view of the history of humanity: a new philosophy of life. But he did not separate himself from the old life. This he could not do. "Paul the Christian" can never be understood unless we first become thoroughly acquainted with "Saul the Pharisee."

Paul's new system of thought is clearly seen in his various epistles. These naturally group themselves in point of time in three divisions, as follows:

(1) I and II Thessalonians and Galatians (50-51).

(2) I and II Corinthians and Romans (52-54).

(3) Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians (57-58).

It is not within the scope of this work to analyze the contents of these epistles or to give Paul's reasons for writing them. Chronological arrangement indicates also the evolution of their author's thought and helps us to an understanding of what otherwise appears incomprehensible. Throughout Paul's philosophy there runs two main themes, (1) his Christology and (2) his doctrine of sin and redemption.

In attempting to sketch the Christology of Paul we must bear in mind that Paul had never known Jesus and, having died before the Gospels were written, and being loath to learn anything from others, his knowledge of Jesus' teachings must have been very meager. He was, moreover, in belief, in habit, and in education intensely a Jew and his mind must have opened slowly to thought which lay outside of his school. His Messianic conceptions were at first the crude ones of his youth. Subsequently his mind was opened up and his thought broadened by the years of fervid missionary experience and the study of the secluded prison days. At first, then, he simply sets forth the ideas gleaned from the Sibylline Oracles, and the apocalypses of Enoch, Baruch, and IV Ezra.

1. In I Thessalonians, which is undoubtedly the earliest of the extant letters of Paul, he turns aside from his main purpose to give assurance to members of the church that those who had died before Christ's second coming would not be lost. He says (I Thess. iv, 15), "For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord (vision?) that we that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord, shall in no wise precede them that are fallen asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we that are alive, that are left,

shall together with them be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord."

This wonderfully dramatic description of the second coming of Christ is thoroughly Jewish. This is amplified in II Thess. i, 6-9, wherein is given the promise of revenge upon the enemies of the church: "It is a righteous thing with God to give tribulation to them that trouble you." Again, "Jesus will be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, taking vengeance on them that know not God . . . who shall be punished with an everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord."

The above quotation sets forth the first stage of Paul's thought upon the second coming of Christ. It is crudely materialistic and Jewish in the extreme. It assumes the almost immediate coming of the Lord. Very clearly it is an adaptation of the vision of Daniel for the purpose of giving comfort to a longing and suffering church. The outcome, however, was evil because it led some to stop work and to spend their time in vain looking for the end of the world or in sleep and drunkenness.

2. This gross vision was very materially modified by Paul's two years of missionary activity at Ephesus. In the letter which he now writes to the church at Corinth he recognizes Christ as a spiritual lord and chief, "head of every man" . . . "Soul of a body having many members" (the Kingdom of God) (I Cor. xi, 3 et seq.). Paul now declares that he knows Jesus, for, "Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?" In Galatians (iii, 13) Paul speaks of Christ as the "Deliverer who has redeemed us from the curse of the law, . . . that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba Father. Wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son and if a son, then an heir of God through Christ."

The second stage of Paul's thought culminates in the eighth chapter of Romans wherein Christ is now to Paul a pure spiritual presence felt in the soul to comfort and save. "It is Christ . . . that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us."

The dreary and thoroughly Jewish method of reasoning which runs through the first seven chapters of this epistle suddenly culminates in this truly marvelous and beautiful climax.

3. The third group of letters have well been called the "epistles of captivity." Paul writes them from Rome as a "prisoner of the Lord." He now styles himself "Paul the aged" and seems clearly to anticipate the certain end. He is forcibly released from the activities of his strenuous life and has leisure as never before, to think and read. Thus his thought of Christ changes and takes on its final form. In his epistle to the Colossians the historical Jesus disappears and the Christ, retaining no longer the outline of the Messianic hope, and losing all trace of human personality, becomes a type of that Divine Energy pictured in the Jewish apocalypses current in Paul's day as personified Wisdom, and set forth by Stoic philosophers and Philo. In Philippians (ii, 5, 6) Paul says: "Have this mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who, existing in the form of God, counted not the being on an equality with God a thing to be grasped (cared-for), but emptied himself taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of man." "The image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation; through whom all things were created in heaven or earth."

If the new Christian churches to whom Paul wrote could understand his Christology it must be interpreted as a tremendous tribute to their native intelligence for these churches consisted mainly of poor uneducated working men and women.

Professor Kemp says: "Christ represents in Paul's thought those eternal forces at work in the world and in the hearts of men that have already broken down the hostile dividing wall between Jew and Gentile and are uniting by the bonds of love and brotherhood all mankind into one universal community. In the light of this profound conviction the Pauline Christology, with all its poetic, old-world imagery, becomes the symbol of eternal and intelligible verities."

While Paul was yet Saul the Pharisee, he was consumed

with religious fervor and a deep desire to upbuild and strengthen the religion of his people and so rear an "ideal Israel." To this task he had dedicated his life. This accounts for his zeal in the persecution of the "new sect of the Nazarene" without stopping to investigate either their claims or their conduct, simply because they interfered with his plans and threatened a division among the Jews themselves. Paul's own concept of his conversion was that of a sudden and abrupt event, a transformation brought about, "not by the influence or instruction of men, but by the direct interposition and sole agency of God." "I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." A vast amount of comment and interpretation has been written upon this very remarkable event. It is hardly possible to conceive it without any preparation. In his epistles, Paul throws some light upon the inner struggle that preceded his conversion. Further than this it is idle to go.

Paul was a "Hebrew of the Hebrews" and had spent his life up to the time of his conversion in the study of the Jewish scriptures. While Paul absorbed many things that were profitless in this line of study, he did have ground into his very being the worship of "a Power not ourselves, that makes for righteousness." His study did enforce obedience to a "law of righteousness" and inculcate the notion of "an ideal purity as an attribute of God." As opposed to this was what Paul calls sin, in his mind an objective reality, "*an evil thing in itself.*" Sin is to Paul a matter of inheritance from Adam, the traditional forefather of the human race. The Pharisees taught that Adam bequeathed "the evil principle to all mankind." So Paul says, . . . "in Adam all die." To Paul this is no mere theory of evil, "but a vast and vital truth." His own experience has taught him that every member of the human family is "indwelt by sin." Speaking of himself he says, "The good which I would I do not, but the evil which I would not that I practice." Thus he discovers a dualism in his own nature "between his will on the one hand and his passions and desires on the other." Paul accounts for this presence of sin within him by reason

of his "fleshly nature" or body which he had in common with all mankind. This leads him to say: "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing." Here Paul has gotten out from the influence of Judaism and assumed the position of the Greek philosophers, that all matter is evil and that there is a constant war between matter and spirit. "All men have sinned and fallen short of God's glory." They have insisted and striven for righteousness, but human nature or flesh with its inherent corruption has ever condemned them to defeat, being too strong for their unaided wills. Paul has in himself no hope for himself. Weakened and worn out by the useless struggle, he finally cries out: "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of this body of death?"

Paul has established his first thesis, This is sin. By the universal law of *the flesh* all have sinned. Ever "the wages of sin is death."

Paul's second thesis is the way of escape. "Who shall deliver me out of this body of death (corrupt nature)?" A great problem this. How shall a man die and yet live? How shall a man be freed from this fleshly tabernacle (material body) and remain here to tell it? This was the extremity of Paul's reasoning. He had been driven to conclude that the law which he revered could not set him free and his inherent honesty compelled him to confess it. To doubt the efficacy of the old is the beginning of the new. It was at this juncture, when the bonds of the past were loosened and his impetuous soul was struggling toward the light that the vision of the risen Jesus burst upon his startled gaze. This was not a man of flesh and blood which appeared to Paul, and yet he was immediately convinced that it was the Messiah. Jesus had escaped death, and yet he had died a man in the flesh like any other man. He was now living the life of a glorified spirit. He, therefore, had passed through death into a spiritual life leaving behind him his fleshly body. He had conquered man's arch-enemy, death, and gone to the Father whence he came. In Christ's victory over sin and death Paul saw his own. Jesus had come down from heaven, taken upon himself human flesh, thus making

himself subject to death. He had died and reascended to heaven, thus freeing all mankind from bondage to the law. He was thus "*more than man, stronger than the flesh* or he could not have conquered and risen above it." And he had done this not to free himself but to free others from the burden of sin and death and to give them that life with God which he himself enjoyed. Paul's earlier concept of the Messiah was "as bringing a reward to a righteous people." Now he saw him as a deliverer. In the great spiritual struggle through which he had just passed, he lost his belief in the resurrection which he had held as an inheritance from the Pharisees as it was material. Now there was born a new hope in his heart. He had cried out in agony: "Who shall deliver me from this body of death?" He had the answer that deliverance was to come, "through Jesus Christ."

Jesus came, then, to free men from the bondage of the law of the flesh. Paul uses a figure taken from Roman law, and which was thoroughly familiar to every citizen of that empire, to make clear what Christ had done for him. He was held in bondage as a slave, to the law of the flesh. Christ, by his death, bought him, as the emancipator, and set him free. Paul now boasts that he is no longer under bondage, but a free man, dead to sin. Paul makes use also of other figures taken from the usage of the Roman court; *justification* or acquittal when the prisoner brought before the judge proves his innocence of the charge; *forgiveness*, *reconciliation*, when the sinner is at enmity toward God. Jesus reconciles him to his divine Father. In every case where Paul describes the salvation of the individual Jesus acts as *mediator* between God and man. The gospels say nothing of any such office on the part of Jesus.

But how was this redemption or emancipation of which Paul speaks to be brought about? How was the individual sinner to take advantage of Christ's death in his behalf? Here it was that Paul showed his power as an independent thinker and demonstrated his originality. He declared that Christ saves a man by entering and taking up his abode within him. That such an experience as this was possible

was a commonplace in the religious thought of the Greeks and Romans as well as that of the Jews whose teachers had for centuries taught that the spirit of Jehovah at times rushed upon and took possession of the true prophets and sometimes even of patriotic warriors like Gideon and Saul. The prophet Joel had predicted that this experience would be shared in common by all classes of men, while Pentecost gave its marvellous testimony in the primitive church. Paul says, "I have been crucified with Christ; yet I live; and yet no longer I but Christ liveth in me." Again: "God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts." Thus it is according to Paul, that the will of Jesus Christ takes the place of the will of man so that man is made one with Christ and becomes dead to sin. "If Christ is in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the spirit is life because of righteousness." Paul represented himself as the chief of sinners, saved by the indwelling spirit of Christ, so that he was no longer a natural man. It was his own experience that taught to him "the method of salvation." "Christ had redeemed him by making him completely one with himself."

Paul's concept of the nature of the universe was the ignorant one of his day. His philosophy was the reflex of his age and can no longer be understood by the modern world. Like all other systems of philosophy, Paul's was doomed to perish. The germ of his moral power lay in its universality, in that he rated himself as the "chief among sinners, with a passionate and deep contrition as of one most in need of the deliverance which he announced."

To be called an "Apostle of Jesus Christ" was all the reward that Paul ever asked for himself. With true nobleness of spirit he placed himself upon the altar. The man who had spent a large portion of his life as a student said, "I am determined to know nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified." "Oneness in Jesus Christ is Paul's peculiar gift to early Christianity." Ninety per cent. of the sermons preached today have their texts taken from the Epistles of Paul, thus proving that the great mission of Christianity is in reality mainly St. Paul's work.

CHAPTER VII

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INFANT CHURCH

THE followers of Jesus bore a name altogether similar to that given by the Greek Philosophers, Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, to their followers; that of disciples, learners, or students. The same custom was also observed by Jewish teachers in general, so that nothing peculiar was attached to the name. Jesus began his work as a religious teacher going from place to place and speaking to the people in the streets of the villages, and on the seashore, wherever people congregated. What he said and did attracted the multitude and from these he chose certain persons to attend upon him to whom he gave instruction touching his purpose and method. In this way the Twelve were permanently attached to his person accompanying him upon his journeys and sitting at table with him, thus being intimately associated in his daily life. Men were attracted to Jesus by reason of the message which he bore. Like John he talked of the Kingdom of Heaven and called them to repentance. They wished to know something of this kingdom and the conditions of entrance into it. Out of the numbers that followed and listened to his preaching Jesus chose the Twelve, but they had also chosen Jesus and were ready to take up the position of "learners" and to forsake their previous occupations and give their time and energies to this new rabbi in order that they might be thoroughly instructed in the nature and conditions of the new life in the Kingdom of Heaven. They first learned that the Kingdom which Jesus proclaimed was "at hand," and that all who entered into it were brothers. "One is your Master," said Jesus to them, "and all ye are brethren." They were "disciples" in their relation to Jesus, "brothers" in their relation one to another. Thus two names which Jesus had made use

of were retained after his death and were of very familiar significance. Those whom Jesus calls are ever called to be "learners." The lesson is never mastered. Those that enter the Kingdom of God sit at His feet. They all serve, and as servants form one universal brotherhood.

To this brotherhood or aggregate of brothers, the name "Ecclesia" was given by Christ's early disciples and it, no doubt, was known almost from the first as Paul used the term "Ecclesia" (church) as a matter of course in his earliest writings, which would go far to prove that the term was in use at the time of his conversion. The term grew out of ideas that were very closely related to Jesus' work and message though it is now generally accepted that he never made use of the word himself, the passages in Matthew (xvi, 18; xviii, 17) which put the word in Jesus' mouth being looked upon as spurious edits of the original word.

The word "Ecclesia" in common Greek usage meant a "called meeting" of the citizens of a town or village for the purpose of consultation or action upon something of political importance to the whole body of people in their corporate capacity. This fact shows that "the Ecclesia" was something more than the daily meeting of the disciples. The word implies an organized body for a political or religious purpose. Paul very generally qualifies the word "Ecclesia" with the phrase, "of God," thus giving us the full title that seems to have been in the mind of the disciples, "the Ecclesia of God" or "the Church of God." In this as in most of Paul's statements, he has a Jewish model in his mind, "the assembly of God's people," a holy community. This in later Judaism was the name applied to the actual gathering together of the whole people for any purpose, religious or secular, while a local gathering of a community was known as a synagogue. The Christian brotherhood, upon becoming organized, took to itself this name as denoting the ideal aspect of the congregation of Israel, the organized remnant of the "assembly of God's people." It stood for the whole community of saints and not merely for one of the local units. The church at Corinth, or at Philadelphia was, therefore, but a local physical expression of the ideal Ecclesia. The ideal

and the visible corresponded so long as there was but one body of disciples waiting in Jerusalem for the second coming of the Lord, but when this local unit had multiplied into a like unit in every city of Asia Minor, the ideal Ecclesia was more difficult of visualization.

The church, then, was considered by itself as "a holy community chosen by God to inherit his promises," as Israel had been in the past. As in its corporate capacity it was the Ecclesia so its individual members were the "hagioi" or "saints." They had been called by God, set apart by him for a spiritual service and privilege.

This concept of the Ecclesia is seen in Peter's speech at Pentecost when he says that "the promise is to you and to your children." According to Peter's view it was the Jewish people whom God had chosen and he and the other disciples were working to bring them to a realization of this fact. Twenty years later Paul shows that this concept had changed, for he declares, in writing to the Philippians (iii, 3): "We are the circumcision who worship God in the Spirit and rejoice in Christ Jesus." The Johannine writings show an advance upon the views of Paul and set forth the positive dogma "that the Jews have been rejected and that 'Israel,' in a religious sense, is equivalent to the Christian Church." This idea becomes prevalent throughout the later writings of the New Testament.

The Pentecostal view and that set forth by Paul and later Christian writers have given rise to two ideas fundamentally divergent. (1) The view of Peter inculcated that the new Israel had succeeded to the old and must, therefore, preserve a continuity with it or lose the title to the inheritance. The members of the Ecclesia must submit to the requirements of the Jewish religion or they could not be incorporated in the stock of Abraham. These Judaizers were, no doubt, as sincere as was Paul. They contended that if the Ecclesia was the community of God's people, it must keep the law or else forfeit its right to the promises made to their fathers. (2) Paul represented the other tendency which loosened the relation of the church to Judaism and finally cancelled it altogether. Paul held with the others that the Ecclesia was

Israel which God had chosen to inherit his promises, but that Israel was not the blood descendants of Abraham, merely, and so was not founded on racial lines, but in knowledge of God and living in obedience to his will. The promises had been given to the ideal "remnant" which was hidden in the larger whole. In this manner the name "Israel" was stripped of all reference to the nation and retained nothing but its spiritual content. The church became a purely religious fellowship, in which all men of whatever race were free to participate."

These opposing ideas were not long in making themselves known and they determined the course of Christian history in the second and third centuries. This was the origin of the conflict between Paul and Peter which caused Paul to "withstand Peter to his face."

As we have already seen from the Gospel of Mark, Jesus started his preaching with the statement: "The Kingdom of God is at hand." John, preceding him, preached the kingdom as coming in the near future. Jesus' modification of John's message is one step in advance by showing that the time element has been obliterated and that the door of the kingdom stands open. Jesus makes it his special mission to build up a community that shall be fit for citizenship in this kingdom. He chose his disciples and gave them special instruction in the law of the kingdom in order that they might help him in bringing the kingdom to the hearts of men and cultivating that "purity of heart" that alone could entitle man to "heavenly citizenship." This thought modifies that already given and while it was not fully understood by his disciples at the time, becomes the central thought of the Ecclesia as time passes. The church began to think of itself as a sort of supernatural community representing that Kingdom of Heaven which Jesus preached.

It is now necessary for us to reconsider what the relationship of Jesus was to the Ecclesia described above. It has been customary to consider Jesus as the direct and active founder of the Ecclesia without giving much attention to the evidence upon which such a view can be founded. There are a few sayings in the gospels that seem to indicate that

Jesus contemplated the founding of the church and laid down some rules for its guidance and administration. The Gospels were written a full generation after Jesus' death. In the meantime the church had developed from a little brotherhood in Jerusalem to "the whole community of saints" scattered throughout the Eastern Empire. The Ecclesia had taken on a rather rigid organization and did its thinking through this channel. Naturally the sayings of Jesus were edited to give support to the Ecclesia organized in his name. Of this there is no evidence in the Gospel of Mark, but plenty in Matthew where the writer seems to have had it in mind to satisfy the requirements of the church. This writer furnishes two passages in which the actual word Ecclesia is used by Jesus. In Matthew xviii, 17, he says (touching the settlement of a difficulty), "And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the Ecclesia." In Matthew xvi, 18, occurs the celebrated commission of Jesus to Peter, "On this rock I will build my Ecclesia (church)." This topic is discussed in another chapter (ch. iv) and need not be considered here other than to repeat the conclusion therein reached. The passage is clearly unauthentic, an editor's expansion of the simpler and older account given in Mark. It will appear to any careful student as incredible that Jesus would provide for the upbuilding of a regular society for the perpetuation of his work when he himself looked for the quick coming of the end of the world rather than the slow and gradual development that would make necessary an organization for the carrying out of his work. In Luke (ix, 27) Jesus says: "But I tell you of a truth, there be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Kingdom of God." This statement is given in all three of the Synoptic Gospels (Mark ix, 1; Matthew xv, 28) and is evidently the statement of Jesus himself. No one can think of God's kingdom having to make any arrangement for the settling of disputes between brothers; spontaneous obedience to the will of God and joyful service one to another is the essence of the kingdom. But although Jesus did not found and organize an Ecclesia and assign to it the work which has been its task throughout all the centuries, nevertheless

the church was indirectly his creation for he gave to his disciples the task, "to lay hold of the kingdom" and to "exemplify the higher moral order and the closer relation to God." When the Twelve returned from the missionary journey upon which he had sent them and made their glowing report, Jesus said: "Rejoice not that the demons are subject unto you, but that your names are written in heaven." The Ecclesia which grew up at Jerusalem after the death of Jesus was merely the enlargement of the brotherhood of disciples that he had formed about himself and called to be heirs of the kingdom. The thought of the Master was still the thought of the disciples. They had been chosen to exemplify the law of the kingdom. Their names were "written in heaven." They were the "Ecclesia of God." They continued *to be the church*. As time went by and numbers increased, the earlier ideal gave way and there grew up a great society which was formally organized and consecrated to the moral and religious work of the world.

The sacrament of baptism has been an ordinance of the Christian church from the earliest times and very naturally an attempt has been made to associate it with the name of Jesus and attribute its institution to him, but it is very certain that this is not the case as the evidence is conclusive that Jesus did not himself baptize nor give any special sanction to such a rite being performed in his name. The importance which attached itself to baptism almost immediately upon the death of Jesus would have assured some mention of its origin in the Synoptic Gospels if there had been any use of it made in the work of Jesus. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that Jesus would give a definite command to his disciples to do what he had rigidly abstained from. The passage in the closing verse of Matthew's gospel is, therefore, out of place and bears upon its face the evidence of a late edit. The Gospel of John tells us that "Jesus himself did not baptize but his disciples." This would imply that although Jesus placed no special value upon baptism he permitted his disciples to make use of the rite if they so wished. Moreover, while Jesus refrained from the use of any ceremonial in connection with his message he himself submitted

to baptism at the hands of John prior to entering upon his own work. This would imply that he recognized some value in the ceremonial. This would be sufficient to cause its adoption in the infant church. It was everywhere regarded as the rite by which a believer was received into membership in the Christian community.

Paul indicates that he himself was baptized after his conversion in the following words: "Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized unto his death?" (Rom. vi, 3.) This is the oldest written evidence of Christian baptism. The Acts of the Apostles was written much later than Paul's Epistle to the Romans, but the author seems to have made use of an early source in his account of Pentecost. According to this, all the converts were baptized. When Philip preached in Samaria, those who repented were baptized. Paul's converts at Corinth and Ephesus were baptized as soon as they were known to recognize Jesus Christ as the Messiah. Paul makes his fullest reference to baptism in Romans, written before he had ever seen Rome, to a Christian community that was thoroughly conversant with normal practices and traditions. The evidence is fairly conclusive that the rite was in universal use among the various Christian communities.

The question arises as to how this observance of a custom which had no sanction in the teachings of Jesus, came into such general use. The answer to this question is found for the most part in the customs of the people among whom Christianity spread. In all the contemporary religions the ritual element held a very important place and rites based upon the symbolic cleansing power of water were practiced more widely than any other. The Jews made frequent use of this rite and the Essenes considered baptism essential to salvation. Proselytes were baptized when admitted to the commonwealth of Israel as a means of cleansing from the defilement of Gentile practices. As the earliest Christians were nearly all Jews it would seem very natural for them to adopt the custom from their people. The most reasonable explanation, however, is that the rite was brought over from the usage of John the Baptist. Preceding the appearance of

Jesus, John proclaimed the quick coming of the kingdom and offered a "baptism for the remission of sins" as a preparation for entrance into the perfect life of the new era. Many of the disciples of Jesus had been followers of John and, like their master, had been baptized by him. Perhaps John followed the custom of the Essenes with whom he was associated, but it had been assumed by the prophets that the Kingdom was reserved for the righteous, and that a cleansing from sin was a necessary condition of entrance. This apocalyptic tradition was doubtless back of John and the Essenes and had the sanction of long usage.

Jesus symbolized the return of the repentant sinner to his heavenly Father's house by his wonderful story of "the prodigal son." Note this, however, that the prodigal was not called upon to give any sign of repentance other than his return. When he was "yet afar off his father went to meet him." Jesus never by act or word modified the requirement of purity of heart for entrance into his Father's kingdom; but he assumed the Messianic authority to forgive sins himself without any symbolic washing whatsoever; the word alone was sufficient, "thy sins be forgiven thee." He said to the repentant thief on the cross: "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise." All religious ceremonies were to him as nothing. Sin had to be repented of and forgiven before a man was a fit citizen of the kingdom. John conveyed forgiveness by baptism; Jesus simply by his own word. The disciples felt that they would be encroaching upon the prerogative of their Master to forgive sins; they, therefore, had recourse to the baptism of John. This may well be considered the origin of Christian baptism.

In the infant church baptism followed immediately upon confession of faith. This is shown by the fact that baptism was being administered on the same day to the converts at Pentecost. Philip administered the rite of baptism to the Ethiopian eunuch immediately upon his confession. Cornelius, Lydia, the jailor at Philippi, are only some of many examples which go to prove the statement made above.

Paul undoubtedly placed a very high estimate upon baptism. Indeed, it is due to him more than to any one else,

that baptism has become a sacrament of the Christian church. But so far as we know, Paul did not administer baptism himself, for he says, "for Christ sent me not to baptize but to preach the gospel." He makes perfectly clear that in his estimation baptism depends for its value upon the spiritual change of heart which precedes its ministration. His own work was to effect the spiritual change, leaving the symbolic part to other hands. Paul saw a far deeper meaning in baptism than a mere symbol of cleansing. In Acts baptism is a washing away of sins. "Arise and be baptized and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord" (Acts xxii, 16). Paul makes it symbolical of the death and resurrection of Jesus, a "rising into newness of life," but Paul's view was not accepted by the church until much later than the apostolic age and, consequently, need not be considered here.

The ordinary mode of baptism in the apostolic age was immersion. This is clearly shown in the writings of Paul (Rom. vi, 3, and I Cor. x, 2), and also in the teaching of the Apostles (Ch. vii). This was not the only form in use, as in case the candidate was physically weak, or water scarce, the rite was performed by pouring or sprinkling. Thus it would appear that at least three forms of baptism were in use before the end of the first century. The essential feature in baptism was the use of water; the form of baptism varied according to local or special conditions. It is to be noted that immediately upon baptism the candidate was admitted to full membership in the Christian brotherhood. No catechumenate was imposed. Either no previous training was deemed essential or else that training was passed through before the candidate presented himself for baptism — Christian baptism was a baptism unto repentance like that of John. There was one new element, and but one. This was the addition of the "name of Jesus." Apparently John used no ritualistic formula at all, the baptism being for the remission of sins. It admitted the candidate to no new order, sect, or community, but simply gave him assurance of fitness for God's kingdom when it came. Christian baptism meant immediate membership in the Ecclesia, the Kingdom of

God on earth, and as this was through the recognition of Jesus as the Messiah or Lord, the rite was performed in his name. By the confession of Jesus in baptism the convert passed over immediately into membership of the church.

We saw in the institution of baptism a rite made use of by the infant church that could not claim the specific sanction of Jesus but was rather the survival of the baptism of John. This was not the case with the Lord's Supper, as in this, the church claimed to possess an ordinance that Jesus himself had established upon the last day of his life on earth. From the very beginning the Lord's Supper was the chief bond of union in the Christian brotherhood and deemed essential to its life. In the warm glow of their early enthusiasm Christians met daily in the temple without any fixed time or order. Theirs was a life of expectation and preparation for the coming of the Lord. It was, therefore, one long religious act with no thought on their part of instituting a new social and religious order. Their feeling of brotherhood expressed itself "in the breaking of bread," which was in itself a richer and more suggestive rite than baptism. The author of Acts, beyond doubt, employs this expression to denote the Lord's supper. In ii, 46, he says: "And they, continued daily with one accord in the temple, and *breaking bread* from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart." This statement of Luke may be accepted as conclusive evidence that the Lord's Supper was eaten by the primitive disciples at Jerusalem. This is made doubly certain by the fact that in Paul's time the rite seems to have been of long standing. This makes certain the historical character of the Lord's Supper, although the evidence for its observance is conflicting and doubtful.

Jesus was crucified in the Passover week and the symbolism made use of in that long-established Jewish rite must have been fresh in his mind. Of this he availed himself on his farewell meeting with his disciples. The bread and the wine lay before him on the table and he made use of them to give emphasis to his last message. The disciples remembered this symbolic feast and when they gathered as a Christian brotherhood at Jerusalem, the re-enacting of this fare-

well Supper established itself as a custom without any special effort on their part to bring this to pass. We have no details as to the nature of this primitive observance or the ideas connected with it. The simple statement in Acts given above, together with that in Acts ii, 42, "And they continued steadfastly in the teaching of the Apostles and the fellowship in *the breaking of bread* and the prayers," are all we have. They are not sufficient to warrant any definite conclusion as to the nature of the rite. And these statements were written more than half a century after Pentecost. From these brief statements we may draw the following conclusions: (1) The rite which in Paul's time was known as the Lord's Supper, originally bore the name of "the breaking of bread," a phrase applying not to the whole meal but to the specific rite. This is made clear by Luke (xxiv, 30). (2) The supper was observed daily and in private houses. This is the meaning of the statement in Acts, and it harmonizes with the apparent facts, for it would have been impossible for the whole body of converts, after Pentecost, to gather in the home of one of the converts on account of their poverty and consequent smallness of their houses. The semi-private nature of the service shows it to have been social as well as religious. It was an evening meal partaken of in common at the home of some member of the community. This is made clear by Paul in the eleventh chapter of I Corinthians, where he describes a Lord's Supper that is also a meal for social fellowship. (3) There is another feature of the observance as set forth in these passages of Acts that demands a word of comment. "Breaking bread in the house-gatherings, they ate with gladness." Had this been simply in commemoration of the Lord's death, it would seem unseemly and out of place to partake of it "with gladness." Paul seems to indicate that there was some danger of the rite degenerating into a mere festive banquet where members became greedy and drunken. There was a spirit of joyful fellowship abroad which would indicate that the Supper was not so much in commemoration of the Lord's death as it was of the victory over death which he had won for them. Joy was the correct expression of their hope in the "Risen Lord."

The above are the chief features of the Supper brought to our knowledge by the fragmentary statements in the Book of Acts. They throw little or no light upon the chief question as to the meaning attached to the rite by the first disciples. It will be necessary to hunt farther and to bring the data of Acts into relation with the accounts of the Supper in the Synoptic Gospels, and Paul.

The institution of the Supper is described in all three of the Synoptic Gospels. An account is also given by Paul in the eleventh chapter of I Corinthians. These accounts differ from one another in important respects. They are as follows:

Mark, xiv, 22-24: "And as they did eat, Jesus took bread and blessed, and brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them: and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many."

Matthew xxvi, 26-28: "And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, *Drink ye all of it*; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many *for the remission of sins*."

Luke xxii, 17-20: "And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves: For I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come. And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood which is shed for you."

I Corinthians xi, 23-25: ". . . That the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread: And when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: *this do in remembrance of me*. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my

blood: *this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.*"

The four accounts given above naturally form themselves, by reason of similarity, in two groups,— Mark and Matthew, and Paul and Luke. Matthew, as in the rest of the Gospel, is little more than a copy of Mark, which must be looked upon as the oldest of the Gospels. Here his account of the Supper is the simplest and most direct. Mark says touching the cup, "they all drank of it"; no command being given by Jesus. Matthew has Jesus give the command, "Drink ye all of it." Again, Matthew adds an explanatory clause to Mark's "blood of the new testament which is shed for many,"—"for the remission of sins," thus making it doubtful whether Jesus ever said this. Of the second group, Paul's statement in Corinthians is the older. He adds, "this do in remembrance of me," changing the whole ceremonial into a memorial. Mark and Matthew knew nothing about this. Luke introduces a new problem for the investigator. His account seems to break into two separate ones, wholly unrelated, thus showing that as editor he combined two independent sources. Separating these we have: (1) "And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and said, Take this and divide it among yourselves: for I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the Kingdom of God shall come." (2) "And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood which is shed for you." If now we take the second part and compare it with Paul's Corinthian account, it will appear to be a duplicate. But Luke wrote thirty years later than Paul's epistle to the Corinthians, and was, besides, a life-time friend of the Apostle. He surely had a copy of this epistle before him and transcribed it into his Gospel. This leaves us three independent accounts: that of Mark, that of Paul, and the first statement of Luke. Following the ordinary method in criticism we would conclude that Luke's short independent account was the oldest source and nearest to the actual words of Jesus. There is in it no establishment

of a symbolic rite, and no trace of a memorial. It contains but the one element, the loving-cup, which was a universal custom not only among Jews, but Greeks. It is not in harmony with Jesus' spirit of brotherhood to create a memorial of himself. It is not in harmony with Jesus' teaching to establish a new law or to create a sacramental service to be repeated throughout the ages when within the same day he reiterated his statement that the Kingdom of God would come within the generation of those then living.

Many books have been written upon the central element of the Lord's Supper. According to the sources this is undoubtedly the mysterious words, "This is my body." All manner of meanings have been read into these words and dogmas many have been built thereon. For these the Fourth Gospel is mainly responsible, aided by the writings of Paul. From all these the modern historian must hold himself aloof, being contented with fair and impartial conclusions based upon sympathetic interpretation of the records.

Whatever may be said upon the varying Gospel accounts, and the ultimate words of Jesus, it is certain that in Paul's time the Lord's Supper had become associated with the idea of the New Covenant and the words of the formula, though undoubtedly unhistorical, give to us an important clew to the meaning that was attached to the Supper by that primitive church which stood in close relation to Jesus. That church borrowed the *formula from the Old Testament* to express what it believed to be the essential purpose of Jesus in the institution of the rite. Out of the *old*, God was to form a *new* community. The church embodied this idea in the ritual of the supper and by this symbol represented themselves as the chosen people of God.

In conclusion we must recognize the Supper as an act of worship. As McGiffert forcefully says: "... whenever they ate together they ate the Lord's Supper. Not that it preceded or followed the ordinary meal, but that the whole meal was the Lord's Supper: that they partook of no ordinary, secular, unholy meals, of none that was not *α κυριακὸν δείπνον*."

We may now turn back to the statements quoted from

Acts with some confidence. They do really express to us a phase of primitive life in the church. The rite was the seal of Christian brotherhood and unity. But it was not new. It was an adaptation of the Jewish service of Sanctification. This is made perfectly clear by an article in the *Contemporary Review* of February, 1899, by Canon Foxley. I quote as follows: "In its origin the Eucharist was not only lay, but domestic, and in the evening. To this day every pious Jew gathers his household at a table every Friday evening (Sabbath eve), and on the eves of the great festivals: blesses, sips, and distributes a cup of wine: after which he takes a piece of bread, blesses it, partakes of it, and distributes it to all present. The service is called the Sanctification, and is an act of thanksgiving (Eucharist) for creation and all the blessings of this life. The Chief Rabbi once said in a letter to me, there can be no doubt that this custom was in use in the time of Christ. It explains some expressions of St. Paul and St. Luke, especially the words, 'As oft as ye drink it.' Apart from this custom of weekly, and indeed more frequent Eucharist, we might have thought that the Christian Eucharist was meant to be annual like the Passover. But our Lord assumed that His disciples would 'drink of it' 'as often' after His death as they did before. And accordingly we find the Eucharist passed into Christian use, not as a rare and unusual interruption or an addition to their ordinary worship, but as often as they came together in the Church. Nay, the first converts at Jerusalem seem to have retained the domestic character of the Eucharist; for they are described as continuing steadfastly with one accord in the Temple, and breaking bread at home. . . . The head of every household continued to do for himself and his household what he had been accustomed to do before, only with a new and additional meaning which Christ had given to it—adding the Eucharist of Redemption to that of Creation."

In the second century the influence of Greek mysticism changed that which was originally simple and concrete into a philosophical and speculative theology. The *Didaché*, (Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,) though written in the early years of the second century, gives a very accurate pic-

ture of the ritual of the Eucharist in use in an early day.

“Ch. 9. But as regards the eucharist (thanksgiving) give ye thanks thus. First, as regards the cup: We give Thee thanks, O our Father, for the holy vine of David, Thy Son, which Thou madest known unto us through Jesus, Thy Son; Thine is the glory forever. Then as regards the breaking (i. e., of the bread): We give thanks to Thee, O our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou madest known unto us through Jesus, Thy Son; Thine is the glory forever. As this broken bread was scattered (as seed) upon the mountains and being gathered together became one, so may Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom; for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever and ever. But let no one eat or drink of this eucharist (thanksgiving) but they that have been baptized into the name of the Lord; for concerning this also the Lord hath said: Give not that which is holy unto the dogs.

“Ch. 10. After ye are satisfied give thanks thus: We give Thee thanks, Holy Father, for Thy holy name, which Thou hast made to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which Thou hast made known unto us through Thy Son Jesus; Thine is the glory forever. Thou, Almighty Master, created all things for Thy name's sake, and gave food and drink unto men for enjoyment, that they might render thanks to Thee; but bestowed upon us spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Son.”

CHAPTER VIII

CLEMENS ROMANUS

AFTER the death of Paul and Peter in Rome some thirty years, a full generation, went by without any definite knowledge of the fortunes of Christianity in the West. During this period, however, this new religion had spread quite rapidly and even gained a footing among the slaves and freedmen of prominent and even noble houses in Rome. There is quite definite evidence that members of the household of the emperor, Domitian, had adopted the Christian faith. In the last year of the reign of this cruel tyrant we catch a glimpse into the life of the Roman church. A letter sent from "the Church of God which sojourneth at Rome to the Church of God that sojourneth at Corinth," has come down to us. It was called forth by reason of some trouble arising in the latter community which caused them to appeal to the Roman church for advice. Corinth was now a Roman colony closely related in many ways to the city of Rome. Through the work of Paul in each, these two churches were held in the closest bonds of fellowship and it was but natural that the Corinthian church would appeal in time of trouble to her sister in Rome. This letter does not contain any reference to any individual authorship, but tradition has always pointed to Clement as the author, and modern scholarship considers this claim as established.

Our positive knowledge of Clement is very limited, but it is sufficient to warrant us in investing him with a dignity becoming a companion of Peter and Paul, and their successor in the foremost church of the early Christian world. Domitian had just been waging a bitter persecution against the Christians of Rome when Clement wrote his letter. In this persecution Titus Flavius Clemens, a near relation of the emperor, and but recently returned from a consulship, was

put to death on a charge of atheism, he having embraced "certain Jewish superstitions." His cousin's wife, Flavia Domitilla, was banished at the same time for a like offense. These relations of the emperor were almost certainly Christians, as a burial-place for Christians has been recently discovered, donated by this same Flavia Domitilla. The writer of this letter, as his name implies, was doubtless a member of this family, though possibly a freedman. Extant evidence shows Clement to have been "a somewhat commonplace, sturdy, and thoroughly honest Roman citizen, with very limited education, somewhat credulous, but with the cool judicious common sense that characterized that people."

Clement is generally known to us as the first of the Apostolic Fathers. All the vague traditions of the Roman church centered around Clement and made his name the most honored of all save those of the immediate disciples. From out this mystic circle came the story that Peter, when about to suffer martyrdom, chose him as his successor, "to take the bishop's chair," at the same time placing his hands upon his head and communicating to him the power of binding and loosing so that with respect to everything which he shall ordain in the earth, it shall be decreed in the heavens. Still other traditions make him the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Clement of Alexandria calls him the "Apostle Clement." Passing by all mere conjectures as to his exact rank and condition in life, we do know that there was a Clement among the first three bishops of the church of Rome and that he was probably the second in order after Peter. This is made certain by the mention of his name in the prayers of the Roman church which date from very early in the second century. Irenaeus also testifies to this fact. Again, Eusebius quotes Hegesippus, the first historian of the Christian church, and Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, as testifying to this.

There is a rather pleasing legend as to his martyrdom. It is stated that he was fastened to an anchor and cast into the Hellespont, where his body was afterwards found in a stone sarcophagus built and guarded by angels wielding flaming swords. The legend goes on to say that the waters

of the sea receded from this sarcophagus and permitted, once a year, the friends of the martyr to come and gaze upon the face of their blessed bishop. But over-zealous friends undertook to raise the burial casket and carry it to Rome, when the waters suddenly rushed in and compelled them to desist. Never again has the water receded and permitted admiring devotees to gaze upon this "wondrous miracle."

Clement was generally looked upon as a friend and disciple of Peter and this may well have been, as he was an old man at the time of his martyrdom in 96 A. D. He was a man of wide influence and great authority in the Roman church.

Besides the Epistle to the Corinthians mentioned above, which is now universally accepted as genuine, there are many other writings that have been attributed to him without any special reason, and no evidence to substantiate the claim. These are:

1. The Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.
2. Two Epistles on Virginitv, extant only in Syriac and which, though not written by Clement, are evidently of an early date.
3. Two Epistles to James, the brother of the Lord.
4. The "Clemintina."
5. The "Recognitiones," which are merely a second edition of the "Clemintina."
6. Apostolic Constitutions; a collection of ecclesiastical regulations purporting to come from the Apostles. This collection belongs to the post-Nicene age, and, consequently, has no connection whatever with the name of Clement.
7. Apostolic Canons; these are collections of canons claiming to come from the Apostles. In their present form they date from 500, in the West, and from 550 in the East.

The consideration of the above-named writings will be taken up in their proper place. The genuine Epistle to the Corinthians was composed, as has already been stated, in the last year of the reign of Domitian. For many centuries only one manuscript of this work was known. It was contained in the Alexandrian manuscript of the New Testament which was written about the year 500. Joined to the canonical writings were placed the first and second Epistles to the

Corinthians. These according to the testimony of Eusebius, were read as scripture in many churches. In 1875, Bryennios of Constantinople published a new and entire manuscript which was found in a convent in that city. Shortly after the discovery of the Greek manuscript published by Bryennios, a new Syriac manuscript was found. A perfect text of the latter has now been obtained by the critical comparison of these two manuscripts.

Now that we have this letter complete and can examine it carefully we wonder why it was held in such high esteem by the early church and read with such authority, being placed alongside of the epistles of Paul. To the modern reader it appears weak and diffuse in the extreme. It is largely made up of fanciful applications of Bible stories. He quotes profusely from the Greek version of the Old Testament, with which he seems to be inaccurately familiar. Without discrimination he believes everything with the simplicity of a child. His scholarship was meager and his mentality average, but he was a man of profound conviction and earnest piety, ready always to do and to suffer. His unimpeachable integrity of character is the real source of his power and influence. Clement furnishes us some important testimony bearing upon the Christological views of the church of the latter part of the first century. He speaks of Jesus as the "Successor of the prophets"; "the High Priest and Guardian of our souls." In chapter 42 he says: "The apostles are from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ, from God. Both, therefore, came of the will of God in the appointed order."

Of the church itself, Clement speaks: "Let us then, men and brethren, with all energy act the part of soldiers, in accordance with his holy commandments. Let us consider those who serve under our generals, with what order, obedience, and submissiveness they perform the things which are commanded them. All are not prefects nor commanders of a thousand, nor of a hundred, nor of fifty, nor the like, but each one in his own rank performs the things commanded by the king and the guards." Touching those who should administer affairs, Clement writes: "Our Apostles also knew

through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be strife on account of the office of supervision. For this cause, therefore, inasmuch as they had obtained a perfect foreknowledge of this, they appointed those already mentioned, and afterwards gave instructions that when those should fall asleep other approved men should succeed them in their ministry.

A very striking testimony is given by Clement in this epistle touching the general belief of the Roman church in the resurrection of the body. In this there is no evidence of any Pauline thought, but rather the crudest possible concept of a physical resurrection. This belief must have been almost universal in the early church. It is, no doubt, the thought of Peter and the other disciples. Clement says: "Let us contemplate, beloved, the resurrection which is at all times taking place. Day and night declare to us a resurrection. The night sinks to sleep and the day arises; the day (again) departs and the night comes on. Let us behold the fruits (of the earth), how the sowing of grain takes place. The sower goes forth and casts it into the ground and the seed being thus scattered, though dry and naked when it fell upon the earth, is gradually dissolved. Then out of its dissolution the mighty power of the providence of God raises it up again; and from one seed many arise and bring forth fruit. . . . Let us consider that wonderful sign (of the resurrection) which takes place in Eastern lands, that is, in Arabia and the countries round about. There is a certain bird which is called a phoenix. This is the only one of its kind, and lives five-hundred years. And when the time draws near that it must die, it builds itself a nest of frankincense and myrrh and other spices, into which, when the time is fulfilled, it enters and dies. But as the flesh decays a certain kind of worm is produced which, being nourished by the juices of the dead bird, brings forth feathers. Then, when it has acquired strength, it takes up the nest in which are the bones of its parent, and bearing these it passes from the land of Arabia to Egypt, to the city called Heliopolis. And in the open day, flying in the sight of all men it places them on the altar of the sun, and having done this, hastens back to its

former abode. . . . Do we deem it any great and wonderful thing for the Maker of all things to raise up again those that have piously served Him in the assurance of a good faith when even by a bird He shows us the righteousness of His power to fulfill His promise? For (the scripture) saith in a certain place, 'Thou shalt raise me up and I shall confess unto Thee'; and again, 'I laid me down and slept; I awaked, because Thou art with me'; and again Job says, Thou shalt raise up this flesh of mine; which has suffered all these things."

FIRST PERIOD

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF
CHRISTIANITY TO THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE,
325 A. D.

BOOK II
CHRISTIANITY IN THE SECOND CENTURY

CHAPTER IX

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE; APOSTOLIC FATHERS

THE second century is characterized as the age of the beginnings of Gentile Christianity on an expanding scale. Hitherto, while the door had been thrown wide open to the Gentile world, the new religion had been very largely confined to Jews. For a short time it may have looked to the early disciples as if the whole Jewish race would be won over and Judaism would take possession of the inheritance as set forth by the older prophets, but this hopeful dream soon vanished. The shy aloofness manifested at first ripened into hostility and hostility into hatred. Converts from Judaism fell off and almost ceased. This caused the Christian missionaries to redouble their efforts among the heathen. Our knowledge of this period is exceedingly limited. From the death of Peter to the writing of the first Christian Apology which bore the name of Justin is a stretch of eighty years, over which has settled an obscuring mist scarcely penetrated by a single ray of light. In the writings of Clement, we catch a glimpse of the state of Christian thought in Rome and the general condition of the church at Corinth in the last decade of the first century. From the letters of Ignatius and the traditions which cluster about his name, we learn something about the church scattered throughout Asia Minor in the first quarter of the second century. There is here discernible a marked change in the tone of Christian society, and a rapid development of Christian institutions has taken place. This may be partially accounted for by reason of divergent racial characteristics and peculiar conditions in Asia Minor which did not maintain in Rome, but it still leaves a margin of development unaccounted for. Clement has impressed us with his unlearned and practical simplicity and his reliance upon quotations from the Old Testament to set forth his own thought without comment or modifica-

tion. Ignatius, in his epistles, brings us abruptly into knowledge of two new elements in the Christian church. These are, (1) a most vehement conviction of the need for "episcopal" oversight, and (2) a passionate enthusiasm for death by martyrdom. Clement reveals in every chapter of his Epistle a serenity of mind and a cool reasonableness that would do honor to a Roman senator. Ignatius is everywhere driven by a fiery zeal and an intensity of passion worthy of a Syrian fanatic.

We know almost nothing about Ignatius. His Latin name implies some dependence upon a Roman family. But he also had a Greek name, Theophoros, which means "borne of God." It is perhaps this that gave rise to that fantastic tradition that he was one of the children whom Jesus took up in his arms and blessed. Had it not been for his tragic end the world of today would scarcely know that such a man ever existed. Of his birth and rank we know almost nothing. It would seem from his letters that he was born of pagan parents and not converted to Christianity until past his youth, his early days being spent in "riotous living." It is also inferred that his parents were slaves and that he himself was born a slave. This might account for his Latin name.

In this case his native ability must have caused his master to secure for him a good education and subsequently to set him free. His Greek is that of an educated gentleman and his language implies considerable culture. Of the circumstances of his conversion we know nothing, but we know he was converted. He was well past middle life when, upon the death of Erodios, he was chosen bishop of the church of Antioch, thus becoming the third person to hold that office from the founding of the church by the Apostle (Peter). Although he was the head of this prominent church little more than a generation from its founding, he does not reveal the slightest touch of any acquaintance on his part with any of its Apostles, least of all with John. Although tradition makes him a friend and companion of John it is utterly impossible of belief that this could be true without any reference to the fact being made in his Epistle to the Ephesians.

Eusebius (*Ecl. Hist.*, III, 36) records that Ignatius "was sent away from Antioch to Rome and was cast as food to wild beasts, on account of his testimony to Christ; and that being carried through Asia under a most rigid custody, he fortified the different churches in the cities where he tarried by his discourses and exhortations, particularly cautioning them against the heresies which even then were springing up and prevailing. He exhorted them to adhere firmly to the *tradition* of the Apostles. Moreover he thought it necessary for the sake of greater security, to attest that tradition in writing." All that we really know about the martyrdom of Ignatius is derived from his own writings, as the various "martyrologes" are wholly untrustworthy and too late to have any historical value.

Eusebius mentions seven Epistles, by name, which he says were written by Ignatius. These are to the Ephesians, the Magnesians, the Trallians, the Romans, the Philadelphians, the Smyrnians, and to Polycarp. These have been discovered in two forms in Greek, the longer and the shorter. Critical examination long since rejected the longer form as a mere expanded edit of the shorter. There was discovered in a Nitrian convent, in 1843, two very ancient Syriac manuscripts containing three Epistles of Ignatius; the one to Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans. These are in a much shorter form than that previously accepted. They are now pretty generally recognized as the only genuine Ignatian Epistles.

The letter of Ignatius to Polycarp was the last of the three letters written by him. It was dated from Troas, his last stopping place before leaving Asia Minor on his long journey to martyrdom. He was, therefore, a man already doomed to death and even informed as to its nature,—to be devoured by wild beasts in the amphitheater. This, because he had freely confessed to Trajan that he was a Christian. The letter is in the spirit of an old man conscious of the near approach of death, giving advice to a much younger man, out of the fullness of his own experience. It is fairly representative of the others and is valuable to us because of the insight which it affords us into the life and convictions of

the Christians of the early portion of the second century. Ignatius extends to Polycarp a somewhat fulsome and overflowing greeting as "overseer of the Smyrnians" and then gives him some very fitting advice as follows:

Ch. I. "Now I beseech thee by the grace with which thou art clothed to add (speed) to thy course, and that thou ever pray for all men that they may be saved, and that thou ask for things that are fitting with all assiduity both of the flesh and spirit. Be studious of unity, than which nothing is more precious. Bear with all men, even as our Lord beareth with thee. . . . Be steadfast in prayer. Ask for more understanding than that which thou art already possessed of. Be watchful as possessing a spirit that sleepeth not. Speak with every man according to the will of God. Bear the infirmities of all men as a perfect athlete; for where the gain is great, the labor is great." In chapter III, he goes on to say: ". . . More especially is it fitting that we should bear everything for the sake of God, that He also may bear us. Be still more diligent than thou yet art. Be discerning of the times."

Ignatius seems to have an undue regard for the episcopate, wholly out of proportion to what might be expected so early in the development of church organization. But Docetism had become a great force among Jewish Christians and it made a strong appeal to the intellect of the common people. Lively disputes took place and misunderstandings arose among members of the Christian communities throughout Asia Minor. It was this that doubtless suggested to the mind of Ignatius the importance of rather strenuous oversight and restraint. Then too a large allowance must be made for rhetorical exaggeration, a fault of all fiery and enthusiastic natures. This must also be construed as entirely local. There could not be the slightest thought in the mind of Ignatius of the extension of the supervising authority of the bishop beyond his own flock, nor does he extend that authority beyond the control of the presbyters and body of the church. In chapter vi of his letter to Polycarp, Ignatius says: "I will pledge my soul for those who are *subject to the bishop and the presbyters and the deacons*; with them

may I have a portion in the presence of God." In Ephesians, chapter vi, he says: "It is manifest therefore, that we should *look upon the bishop even as we would upon the Lord Himself.*"

The greatest contribution made by Ignatius to the church of the second century was his independent theological ideas. These, added to the teaching of St. Peter, produced the theology of the Asia Minor churches, and, in fact, dominated Christian thinking to the time of Tertullian. These ideas are seen in his Epistle to the Ephesians, chapter xviii: "My spirit *boweth down to the cross* which is a stumbling-block to unbelievers, but to us *salvation and life eternal.* . . . He (Jesus) was born and baptized that by His passion He might *purify the water.*" Chapter xix: ". . . And now that took a beginning which had been prepared by God. Henceforth all things were in a state of tumult because He meditated the abolition of death." Chapter xx: ". . . (I will write again) if the Lord make known to me that ye all . . . agree in one faith . . . so that ye obey the bishop and the presbytery with an undivided mind, breaking one bread, (eucharist) which is the *medicine of immortality*, and the *antidote to prevent dying*, but which is life forever in Jesus Christ."

In his epistle to the Ephesians, besides the quotations made above, Ignatius gives us one fine allegory: "But even the works you do according to the flesh are spiritual works; for you do all in Jesus Christ, prepared as you are for the building of God the Father, carried up to the height through the *engine* of Jesus Christ which is the cross, using the *Holy Spirit* as the *rope*, while *faith* is the *pulley* and *love* the *way*, carrying to God."

Upon careful reading of the genuine epistles of Ignatius, it will appear that there is not a single statement to throw any light upon the views of the author touching the incarnation of Jesus or his divinity. The "logos philosophy" has not as yet been heard of in the "leading church" of Asia Minor. There is, moreover, no trace to be found of the "pre-existence" of Jesus Christ as taught by Paul and John. This is evidence quite conclusive that the writer knew nothing either of the epistles of Paul or of the Gospel of John.

Nothing of the martyrdom of Ignatius is known beyond what he has himself shown us in his letters. We do not know the charges brought against him nor the reason for his being sent from Antioch to Rome to be put to death. He was not a Roman citizen and could not have made an appeal to the emperor as did Paul. If Trajan condemned him to death when he was at Antioch, it is beyond reason to suppose he would send him to be executed to the far-off city of Rome, detailing a squad of ten soldiers to act as guard throughout the whole journey. Antioch had an amphitheater, second only to that of Rome, with gladiatorial combats, and wild beasts in great numbers. The journey from Antioch to Rome was marked in its various stages by his letters. They reveal also his burning desire for martyrdom. At Smyrna he says "he was refreshed, stimulated, and encouraged in his desire for 'the last great testimony.'" Tradition tells us that his wish was gratified and that the teeth and claws of the lions finally did their work and his bones were gathered together and carried back to Antioch. Here they were placed in a "martyr's tomb" near the gate of Daphne, where they rested until Theodosius II removed them to the Temple of Fortune within the city of Antioch itself. The name of this temple was henceforth changed to that of "the Church of Ignatius."

The martyrdom of this "grand old man" may be looked upon as the beginning of that marvelous period in Christian history known as the "Age of the Martyrs," when the church of God grew strong through weakness and persecution. Trial only brought out strength to endure, and persecution only nerved it to more strenuous resistance.

The words of Celsus give us an idea of the way the outside educated class looked upon Christians: ". . . shoe-makers, fullers, illiterate clans . . . worn with want, cold, toil, and famine; men collected from the lowest dregs of the people; ignorant, credulous women, unpolished fools, illiterate, ignorant even of the sordid acts of life; they do not understand even civil matters, how can they understand divine?" But these "Christians" by sublime faith and courage born of God, "joyfully with songs of praise and thanksgiving on their lips, met death in the most horrible form. They faced

the implements of torture as the soldier is wont to take his post of danger before the enemy's battery, and when Rome at last found she had to deal with a host of Scaevolus, then the proudest of earthly sovereignties, arrayed in the completeness of her material resources, humbled herself before a power which was founded on a mere sense of the Unseen" (Caecilius). "The victory of Christianity was won in no small degree by the splendid courage and invincible endurance of the long roll of martyrs of which Ignatius was the most shining example."

The name of the celebrated bishop of Smyrna is shrouded in the same uncertainty that hangs about the names of Clement and Ignatius. Of Polycarp we are also compelled to say we know next to nothing. There has been handed down from the last years of the fourth century an utterly untrustworthy "Life of Polycarp," the authorship of which has been ascribed to Pionius. This work says that he was a slave boy from the East and that Callisto, a wealthy widow of Smyrna, purchased him in accordance with direction received from an angel in a dream. He proved a most valuable servant and became steward of her household. Upon her death she left him all her property besides giving him his freedom. He was a wise and saintly man, well-versed in the Scriptures and for this reason was chosen as a deacon in the church. After preaching for some time, he was made bishop to succeed Bucalus. He is accredited with a vast number of miracles during his episcopate, even the raising of the dead. There is in all probability a germ of truth in this "life" touching his inheritance of the property of his mistress, as he was known in later years to be possessed of a large amount of property and a number of slaves. He never married and, upon his death, willed all his possessions to the church.

There is nothing in the name of Polycarp to give the least indication either of his rank or country. He was doubtless a Christian from his early youth, as this may be fairly implied from his own language at the time of his trial.

We possess one letter only from the hand of this famous Christian, the Epistle to the Philippians, written after the visit of Ignatius to Smyrna, about the year 116. There is

no existing evidence that he ever wrote anything else. The visit of Ignatius on his way to death at Rome gives us a hasty glance at Polycarp. He bestowed upon his noble visitor every mark of courtesy and reverence that was due to his age and service. Ignatius gives testimony that he was "comforted in all things by him and was thankful to have known him." Upon his departure, Ignatius entrusted to Polycarp the task of sending delegates to Antioch to congratulate that church upon the close of the persecution, and of requesting other churches to do the same. When passing through Philippi, he had made a like request. The church of that place wrote to Polycarp requesting him to forward their letter with the delegate sent by him. The answer to the request has been preserved and gives us some insight into the character of the writer. It is divided into fourteen chapters, but many consider the last six chapters interpolations. Some familiarity is shown with the letters of Paul, the Gospel of Luke, and the first and second Epistles of Peter.

Following the salutation which is in the name of "Polycarp and the Presbyters with him," chapters one and two are an exhortation to steadfastness and faith which "brings forth fruit to our Lord Jesus Christ"; and earnest labor to "serve God in fear and truth, laying aside all empty and vain speech; abstaining from all unrighteousness, inordinate affection, love of money, evil speaking, and false witness." In chapter three he recommends the careful study of the letter which Paul wrote to them. Chapter four deals very largely with the evil of the love of money and exhorts to "prayer and sober living." The remaining authentic chapters are addressed specially to presbyters and deacons, admonishing them to "blameless living" and "faithful discharge of the duties of their office."

The contents of the letter are fulsome and commonplace in the extreme, as is seen in the above quotations, but there are a few points of very special interest to us. Polycarp says nothing whatever about *bishops*, nor does he imply that such an office as a bishop is in existence at Philippi or anywhere else. This must act as a wholesome antidote to Ignatius. He does speak of deacons and presbyters and the duty

of obedience to them. His letter might well have been written by an "elder of the Presbyterian church." Again, Polycarp's manner of naming Christ is in sharp contrast with that of Ignatius. He gives us no idea of any development of a Christological philosophy such as appears in the writings of Ignatius. He merely reveals to us a simple and unlettered faith in the Christ of St. Peter.

We catch another view of Polycarp and that, too, from a different angle, in a letter written by Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, to Florinus about the year 150. Irenaeus and Florinus would appear, by this letter, to have been pupils of Polycarp and personal friends, but Florinus had gone over to one of the Gnostic sects and Irenaeus wrote to him endeavoring to win him back to the established faith. He recalls to him the teachings of their old master. In this letter he says: "I can tell the very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and his manner of life, and his personal appearance, and the discourses which he held before the people, and how he would describe his intercourse with John and with the rest of those who had seen the Lord, and how he would relate their words, and whatever things he had from him about the Lord, and His miracles, and about His teachings. Polycarp, as having received them from eye-witnesses of the Lord, would relate altogether in accordance with the Scriptures. To these things I used to listen at the time with attention, by God's mercy which was bestowed upon me, noting them down not on paper but in my heart; and constantly by God's grace, I ruminate upon them faithfully."

The above is the most valuable testimony which we possess touching Polycarp, coming as it does from one of the most prominent Christian writers of the second century. It is undoubtedly trustworthy in the main, but the element of time seems to be much opposed to the generally accepted belief that Polycarp was a disciple of the Apostle John. This opens up a difficult question and one that has been much discussed. In the first place we really know nothing about the life and labor of John save through a vague and untrustworthy tradition. There is one tradition usually

accepted, that John lived to the age of one hundred and two as bishop of Ephesus. The origin of this tradition can not be traced, and thus far no evidence whatever has been brought forward to substantiate it. Another tradition resting upon a statement of Papias, a contemporary of Polycarp, says that John was put to death along with his brother James in 44 A. D. Modern scholarship is inclined to this latter view. Eusebius, in his *Ecl. History*, says that the John referred to in the letter was "John the Presbyter," and not the Apostle. Even taking the first tradition as true, Polycarp was too young to have been a disciple of John, as the latter was seventy years old when Polycarp was born. The church has been wont to insist upon this discipleship in order to establish a direct traditional line,—Jesus, John, Polycarp, Irenaeus. This is too plainly artificial to stand against historical criticism.

Polycarp appears again before us on a visit to Rome, where he went to consult with Bishop Anicetus concerning the proper time for keeping Easter. At Rome he was received with every honor and distinction due his age and character. Up to this time the churches of the East had kept the day of the Crucifixion on the 14th of the Jewish month Nisan, irrespective of the day of the week upon which this fell. Anicetus, on the other hand, as did all the Roman bishops preceding him, observed a Friday as the anniversary of the Crucifixion and a Sunday as that of the resurrection. This was also the custom of all the western churches. Polycarp did not feel justified in making any change, neither did Anicetus, so that the conference came to nothing by mutual agreement, but the two bishops continued to be warm friends.

Nothing now is known concerning Polycarp save that story of his martyrdom as it is related in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, a document which purports to be a letter written from the church at Smyrna to a neighboring church giving an account of the martyrdom of their bishop. Eusebius embodied this in his history, thus giving it his sanction, but modern investigations pretty generally discredit it. There may be a germ of truth in it. Briefly it represents him as being brought before the proconsul, Titus Status Quadratus,

who urged him "to have pity on his own white hairs and swear by the genus of Caesar, and cry 'away with atheists'!" It was here that he made his celebrated reply: "Eighty and six years have I served Him and He hath done me no wrong. How then can I speak evil of my King who saved me?" The only thing left to the proconsul was to pass judgment, and he sentenced him to be burned. Thus he was martyred in 155 (probably).

This epistle, which was for some time accepted in the church as coming from the hand of the beloved companion of Paul, is in reality so untrustworthy and inaccurate that it has no historical value. Its authorship is unknown.

Our information in regard to Papias is contained almost wholly in the fragments from the works of Irenaeus and Eusebius, as his works have otherwise been lost. He was bishop of the church in Hieropolis, a city of Phrygia, in the first half of the second century. Later writers tell us that he was martyred about 163 A. D. at Rome, but of this there is no trustworthy evidence. Tradition represents him as a friend and companion of Polycarp and a hearer of the apostle John. He was also on terms of intimacy with many who had known the Lord and his disciples. From these he gathered the floating traditions in regard to the sayings of the Lord and wove them into five books which he entitled an Exposition of the Oracles (*Logia*) of the Lord. His method is plainly seen in his own introduction which runs as follows: "If then any one who had attended on the elders came, I asked with greatest care after their sayings:—what Andrew or Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any of the Lord's disciples; what things are said by Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord. For I imagined that what was to be got from books was not so profitable to me as what came from the living and abiding voice."

Eusebius says of Papias that he "was a man most learned in all things, and well acquainted with the Scriptures," but, "of small capacity." This would exactly classify him with Eusebius himself. The most valuable of the fragments of

Papias is the one where he speaks of Mark. This he obtained from John the Presbyter, and is a tradition touching the composition of the Gospel of Mark. Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately what he remembered. It was, however, not in exact order that he related the sayings and words of Christ,— for he did not hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him, but afterwards, as I said, he followed Peter, who adapted his preaching to the necessities of the occasion, but not so as to furnish a systematic account of the sayings of the Lord; so that Mark committed no fault when he wrote some things as he recollected them. Of one thing he took care — to pass by nothing which he heard and not to falsify anything. This bears all the earmarks of a strictly historical statement, and shows conclusively that Mark followed a strictly historical method, as did also Luke.

Papias says of Matthew: “Matthew wrote the Sayings (of Jesus) in the Hebrew (Aramaic) tongue, and every one interpreted them as he was able.”

The Pastor of Hermas enjoyed a tremendous popularity in the Christian Church during the second and third centuries, being read in the various churches as Scripture. Irenaeus quoted it as Scripture, giving it equal weight with the Gospels. Clemens Alexandrinus spoke of it as having divine power, and Origen regarded it as inspired. It kept this exalted position without question till the time of Tertullian who rejected it. It is written in fairly good Greek and would seem to be the work of a scholar and dreamer. Much discussion has taken place touching the authorship of this work. Many persons have considered Hermas as a fictitious man. The fragment known as the “Muritorian Canon” furnishes us the earliest mention of this work. It says: “Very recently in our own times, in the city of Rome, Hermas compiled *The Shepherd*; his brother, Bishop Pius, then sitting in the *cathedra* of the Roman church.” *The Shepherd* has been called “one of the most interesting books of Christian antiquity.” It has been compared to Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* in modern times, but such statements vastly overestimate its real value and serve only to disap-

point the reader who expects some great thing. The most that can be said of it is that it "is the best example of an extensive apocalyptic literature which flourished in the Church in the first two centuries." Its date is about 150. Its coloring is grotesque and its imagery coarse to suggestiveness. The name of Christ does not appear in it, and some critics have, without reason, considered it as strangely Judaistic. It is divided into three parts, Visions, Commandments, and Similitudes. Taken as a whole it is rather weak religious food but the intention is spiritual and the thought moral and wholesome.

In Sim. v, 3, there is set forth a doctrine which subsequently ripened into that of supererogation. "If you do anything good beyond the commandment of God you will gain for yourself more abundant glory, and will be more honored before God than you would otherwise be."

What is generally considered the most important discovery of recent times in the region of Christian literature is *The Didaché*. It has been known for centuries by name, as Eusebius and other writers of that period mention it. But in 1883, a Greek bishop and metropolitan, Bryennios, published *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, from a manuscript which was found in the library of the Jerusalem Monastery of the Most Holy Sepulcher in Ohmar, the Greek quarter of Constantinople. It is a small octavo volume of parchment leaves, written in 1156, by one, Leo, "a notary and sinner." The treatise consists of two well-marked divisions: (1) the ethical part which treats of the most important moral precepts, opening with the words, "There are two ways," and (2) "important precepts regarding the worship of God and the regulation of the community." This latter formed a manual of church ordinance and was merely tacked on to the *Two Ways*, making use of this as an introduction.

(1) *The Two Ways*, when freed from all comments, appears to be an ordinary Jewish manual of instruction to proselytes carried over into the use of the Christian Church." It is quite similar to the *Mandates in the Shepherd of Hermas* and is almost duplicated in Barnabas. A Latin version

of this work has recently been found under the title *Doctrina Apostolorum*.

(2) The second part of *The Didaché* may well be called a Christian manual or directory. It is made up of precepts relating to church life couched in the second person plural, while *The Two Ways* is written throughout in the second person singular. First in order is a brief sacramental manual intended for the direction of the officiating elders. It orders baptism in the three-fold name and permits a three-fold pouring on the head if sufficient water for emersion can not be had. It also prescribes a fast before baptism, as does Justin, for the baptizer as well as the candidate. Fasts are to be kept on Wednesdays and Fridays in order to distinguish them from those of the Jews who kept Tuesdays and Wednesdays. The eucharist is here regarded as a family meal. Of this none are to partake save those who have been baptized. The partaking of the eucharist is regarded as producing immortality.

The whole of this work was in the hands of the writer of the Apostolic Constitutions. He copied the whole of it. The date is not far from 120.

CHAPTER X

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE; THE APOLOGISTS

WHEN Christianity had developed sufficiently to be differentiated from Judaism and to be known as a new religion it was compelled to face new problems and conquer new difficulties. The opposition of Jews not only increased, but the attention of the Roman government was called to it and persecution took on a new phase. Hitherto it had been local and very largely due to spasmodic efforts of individuals who stirred up the prejudices of interested Jews and Gentiles who thought they were being injured, by reason of the rapid development of this sect, in their business enterprises. Now the opposition had taken on a new character. The emperors were becoming afraid of Christianity because they thought they detected elements in it different from the many other religious sects that had sprung up, and which threatened the life of the empire. They saw a political purpose in it, an *imperium in imperio*. It is worth noting that the best of the emperors were the most ruthless in their persecutions. This is the best of proof that they were actuated by the thought that Christianity was an enemy to the state and that it was their duty to crush it. The rising faith now began to meet the new danger by formal expositions and defenses addressed to the educated and thinking part of the Roman world. They now sought to convince their adversaries that their opposition and persecution was based upon misunderstanding. By means of arguments and addresses they strove to convince their adversaries, and to overcome their prejudices. These arguments and addresses in defense of Christianity received the name of apologetics and their authors were known as apologists. Of these writings there were two kinds, (1) those addressed to political rulers, and designed to secure to Christians their legal rights, and (2)

those intended to influence individual opinions. Christianity had at last produced defenders among educated and scientific thinkers. The names of many of these have been preserved whose writings have been lost; however, a few works of very great value have come down to us either in whole or in part. Of these the most important are the following:

- (1) Epistle to Diognetus.
- (2) The Apology of Aristides.
- (3) The Works of Justin Martyr.
- (4) The Apology of Athenagoras.
- (5) The Muritorian Fragment.
- (6) The Works of Tatian.

The author of the Epistle to Diognetus is unknown and the person to whom he wrote is also unknown. Bunsen, the well-known scholar and critic, says of this epistle, "Indisputably, after Scriptures, the finest monument we know of sound Christian feeling, noble courage, and manly eloquence." The date of the epistle is uncertain, but probably belongs to the year 130 A. D. It has some of the earmarks of modern thought and is not quoted or referred to by any writer of antiquity. But it is generally accepted as an early work and assigned, as above, to the first half of the second century. The work has been preserved in but one manuscript and this was destroyed in 1870. However, numerous translations have been made. This letter represents Christianity as a new thing in the world and endeavors to explain its claims to recognition. This it does in a modest, sincere, and philosophic spirit. His friend, who is a sincere inquirer after truth among the educated Greeks, had evidently asked him to explain the tenets of Christianity to him. This letter is the answer. It seems to be a composite of two works. The first exalts *faith*; the second exalts *knowledge*. It may well have been written in two parts and these parts afterward placed together. It shows some familiarity with the letters of Paul and also with the *fourth gospel*. In its long form it consists of twelve chapters but the last two are generally looked upon as spurious. Its analysis follows:

- (1) Introduction; reason for writing.
- (2) The vanity of idols (superficial).

- (3-4) Superstitions of the Jews (unfair).
- (5) The manners of Christians (excellent).
- (6) Relations of Christians to the world.
- (7) The manifestation of Christ.
- (8) Miserable state of men before the coming of the Christ.
- (9) Why Christ was sent so late.
- (10) The blessings following from faith.
- (11) These things are worthy to be known and believed.
- (12) Importance of knowledge to true spiritual life.

Of this epistle, chapter five upon the manners and customs of the Christians is admirable. It is as follows: "The Christians are distinguished from other men neither by country nor language, nor the customs which they observe. For they neither inhabit cities of their own, nor employ a peculiar form of speech nor lead a life which is marked out by any singularity. The course of conduct which they follow has not been divided by any speculation or deliberation of inquisitive men; nor do they, like some, proclaim themselves the advocates of any merely human doctrines. But inhabiting Greek as well as barbarian cities, according as the lot of each of them has been determined, and following the customs of the nations in respect to clothing, food, and the rest of their ordinary conduct, they display to us their wonderful and confessedly striking method of life. They dwell in their own countries, but simply as sojourners. Every foreign country is to them as their native land, and every land of their birth as a land of strangers. They marry, as do all; they beget children; but they do not commit abortion. They have a common table but not a common bed. They are in the flesh but they do not live after the flesh. They pass their days on earth, but they are the citizens of heaven. They obey the prescribed laws, and at the same time surpass the laws by their lives. They love all men and are persecuted by all. They are unknown and condemned; they are put to death and restored to life. They are poor, yet they make many rich; they are in lack of all things, and yet abound in all. They are dishonored and yet in their very dishonor are glorified. They are reviled and bless; they are insulted

and repay insult with honor; they do good, yet are punished as evil-doers. When punished they rejoice as if quickened into life; they are assailed by the Jews as foreigners and are persecuted by the Greeks; yet those who hate them are unable to assign a reason for their hatred."

Aristides is the earliest of the Apologists proper whose work has been preserved for us. Until recently his writings were supposed to have been lost. Eusebius, in the fourth book of his *Ecl. History*, mentions Aristides as "a believer earnestly devoted to our religion, who left an apology for the faith, addressed to Hadrian." He is mentioned again by Jerome, who died in 420, as a Greek philosopher who retained his philosopher's garb after his conversion to Christianity and who "wrote a defense of the faith to Hadrian at the same time as Quadratus." After this no further mention of Aristides takes place for more than twelve-hundred years. In the Mechitarite convent, of St. Lazarus at Venice there is a body of Armenian monks that give their time to the study of Armenian literature. These monks discovered and published, in 1878, a Latin translation of an Armenian fragment of the last Apology of Aristides. The fragment consisted of the first two chapters only.

In 1889 Professor J. Rendel Harris of Cambridge discovered a Syriac version of the whole Apology in the library of the Convent of St. Catherine, on Mt. Sinae. He translated this into English and placed the date of the manuscript in the seventh century. This discovery established the genuineness of the Armenian fragment beyond a doubt. Professor Robinson, the colleague of Professor Harris, having read the translation of the Syriac version, discovered that the Apology of Aristides was incorporated in the Christian Romance entitled *The Life of Barlaam and Josaphat*. This gave us both a Syriac and Greek manuscript of the Apology. The Greek is much shorter than the Syriac, but gives us all the essential teachings, and is probably nearer the original than the larger Syriac version.

This recently discovered Syrian version is addressed to Antoninus Pius and not Hadrian, as Eusebius says. This

makes the date of the Apology about 138, and some fourteen years earlier than that of Justin.

The author of this work seems to have been well acquainted with both Greek and Roman philosophy and religion as well as the religious systems of Egypt, Persia, and India.

The Apology contains seventeen chapters in all. Of these fourteen are given over to a long-winded, tedious discussion of ancient mythologies and religions which the author but dimly understood and imperfectly set forth. If Antoninus Pius had the patience to read through the fourteen chapters of half-learned nonsense, he then came upon a wonderfully clear and beautiful summary of Christian teachings and life. I quote the translation of the Greek version.

XV. "Now the Christians trace their origin from the Lord Jesus Christ. And He is acknowledged by the Holy Spirit to be the son of the most high God, who came down from heaven for the salvation of men. And being born of a pure virgin, unbegotten and immaculate, He assumed flesh and revealed himself among men that he might recall them to himself from their wanderings after many gods. And having accomplished his wonderful dispensation, by a voluntary choice He tasted death on the cross, fulfilling an august dispensation. And after three days He came to life again and ascended into heaven. And if you would, O King, you may judge the glory of His presence from the holy gospel writing, as it is called among themselves. He had twelve disciples, who after His ascension to heaven went forth into the provinces of the whole world, and declared His greatness. As for instance, one of them traversed the countries about us, proclaiming the doctrine of the truth. From this it is, that they who still observe the righteousness enjoined by their preaching are called Christians.

"And these are they who more than all the nations on the earth have found the truth. For they know God, the Creator and Fashioner of all things through the only-begotten son and Holy Spirit; and beside Him they worship no other God. They have the commands of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself graven upon their hearts; and they observe them,

looking forward to the resurrection of the dead and life in the world to come. They do not commit adultery nor fornication, nor bear false witness, nor covet the things of others; they honor father and mother and love their neighbors; they judge justly and they never do to others what they would not wish to happen to themselves; they appeal to those who injure them, and try to win them as friends; they are eager to do good to their enemies; they are gentle and easy to be entreated; they abstain from all unlawful conversation and from all impurity; they despise not the widows, nor oppress the orphan; and he that has, gives ungrudgingly for the maintenance of him who has not.

“If they see a stranger, they take him under their roof, and rejoice over him as over a very brother; for they call themselves brethren not after the flesh but after the spirit.

“And they are ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Christ; for they observe His commandments without swerving, and live holy and just lives as the Lord God enjoined upon them.

“And they give thanks unto Him every hour, for all meat and drink and other blessings.

XVI. “Verily then, this is the way of the truth which leads those who travel therein to the everlasting kingdom promised through Christ in the life to come.”

When we pass from the time of the Pauline Epistles to the middle of the second century we come into a very different world of thought. The old battle which Paul fought with such persistence and bravery against the imposition of a legalistic Jewish yoke upon heathen converts, had become well nigh forgotten history. The destruction of Jerusalem, in 70 A. D., and the rapid growth of churches on Gentile soil, had shifted the center of gravity of Christian population, so that the vast majority of disciples were now of heathen antecedents, and the Jewish concepts were necessarily overlaid and forgotten. Asia Minor was the portion of the empire in which the church was now most strongly represented. Syria northward of Palestine, Macedonia, and Greece were only in less degree its home. It was making rapid development in Egypt with Alexandria as the center. There was a

strong, closely-knit, extensive Greek-speaking congregation in Rome and a group of small assemblies existed in the Rhone valley of what is now France. The old Carthaginian region of Africa was fairly well covered with the Christian communities, but in general, the Latin population of the empire was as yet very little touched by the gospel.

While Christians were thus rapidly growing in numbers, they were still for the most part drawn from the lower classes of the population, their numbers being recruited from the great body of slaves, freedmen and the poor and down-trodden citizens who lost out in the unequal contest with slave labor. They were of little or no social influence but they were bound to one another by a common belief in God and Jesus Christ and a confidence in a divine revelation contained in the Old Testament and continued through men of the gospel age and subsequent times by the ever-working spirit of God. From a moral standpoint they were far above the heathenism that surrounded them. "They had a confident hope that the present evil world was speedily to pass away and the Kingdom of God to be established in its stead." They looked upon themselves as sojourners in the world, separated from the rest of humanity by their new-found faith. They, for this reason, owed each other aid, and developed a noble Christian benevolence and charity far beyond anything to be found in the ancient world.

A full century had now passed by since Paul wrote his Epistles, and Christianity had cut itself loose from Jewish commercialism and established a freedom from the law which Paul had labored so strenuously to teach. This was chiefly due to the fact that Christians were no longer Jews and not to the influence of the teachings of Paul. In fact the Christianity of the second century was not Pauline. This is made perfectly clear by an investigation of the written documents of the time. Paul was not rejected, but the people were unable to understand him. His conceptions of sin, and grace, and the significance of Christ's death were too deep for them. To Greeks who knew nothing of Jewish history or law, Christ seemed primarily the revealer of the one true God whom heathenism had but dimly known, and the proclaimer

of a new and purer law of right living. The nature and purposes of God were set forth by Jesus, and his new commandments revealed. These were fulfilled by chaste living and upright conduct. This idea is beautifully set forth by the *Shepherd of Hermas*, written about 140: "Keep the commandments of the Lord, and thou shalt be well-pleasing to God, and shalt be enrolled among the number of them that keep His commandments, but if thou do any good thing outside the commandments of God, thou shalt win for thyself more exceeding glory." And Clemens Alexandrinus says: "Fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving better than both." These passages show with clearness the changes that have taken place in the conceptions of Christian life in the second century, and these changes must be weighed and considered carefully by him who would understand the history of the church.

The Romans had gradually grown away from their old faiths and their natural religion had ceased to be a vital thing. This was due in large measure to their contact with Greece and the Orient, and the consequent spread of philosophy. The whole empire was undergoing rapid change. In the half-century preceding Paul's missionary journeys the whole empire had become fairly well unified politically. The line of cleavage hitherto existing between Italy and the provinces was becoming gradually obliterated and the latter were passing rapidly out of their condition of subjugation. The number of Roman citizens in the provinces was increasing rapidly both by reason of Roman citizens settling therein and the extension of citizenship to provincials. The Roman nobility was being recruited constantly from the ranks of wealthy provincials and the line of distinction broken down. This tremendous change brought with it a lowering of the ethical standard throughout this empire. There was a great growth of wealth massed in the hands of a few, while poverty and want spread among the masses; luxury increased at an alarming rate and signs of national decadence were not wanting. But the whole empire was in a state of religious ferment and an ethical reformation was in progress. Both philosophy and religion were taking on a predominant ethical

character and thinking men had begun to labor for the betterment of the world. This is seen in the writings of Seneca and the tenets of the dominating school of Stoic philosophers. The age was a religious one revealing a quickened activity in the various ancestral cults and a desire on the part of the more intelligent to become acquainted with the religious teachings of other peoples. In this way the various faiths found adherents throughout the empire and a sort of religious individualism and eclecticism was becoming dominant. All this was favorable to the growth of Christianity.

The Romans at first looked with utter indifference upon the growth of Christianity. They had been cynically liberal in their treatment of the religions of the people whom they conquered, but rarely interfering with the forms of worship, and granting complete autonomy to all so long as they did not interfere with the administration of the estate. It was not an unknown thing for a Roman magistrate, in the early years of the church, to interfere in the behalf of some Christian who was being roughly handled by orthodox Jews who looked with much disfavor upon the new doctrine. However, when the Romans recognized that Christians were a distinct religious body organized into something like a great secret society with branches in all parts of the empire, then there began a series of persecutions which lasted in all for nearly two hundred and fifty years. These persecutions were not simply the wanton acts of cruelty and despotism. "The best and most enlightened of the emperors were most strenuous in their efforts to stamp out this religion. We can learn something of how the government felt about the matter from the various statements made by Roman historians and writers of the times. The first of these persecutions came in the reign of Nero and had a very singular beginning. In 64 A. D. a considerable part of the city of Rome was consumed by a vast conflagration which lasted for several days. Many of the people believed that the emperor himself started the fire in order that he might straighten out some of the narrow, crooked streets." In telling of this incident Tacitus (*Annals*, Bk. XV, c. 45) says: "... he (Nero) falsely charged with the guilt and punished with the

most exquisite tortures the persons commonly called Christians, who were hated for their enormities. Christus, the founder of that name, was put to death as a criminal by Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judea, in the reign of Tiberius; but the pernicious superstition, repressed for a time, broke out again, not only through Judea, where the mischief originated, but through the city of Rome also, whither all things horrible and disgraceful flow, from all quarters, and where they are encouraged. Accordingly, first those were seized who confessed they were Christians, on their own information, a vast multitude were convicted, not so much on the charge of burning the city as of hating the human race."

Suetonius, *Claudius*, c. XXVI. "He banished from Rome all the Jews who were continually making disturbances at the instigation of one, Chrestus." *Nero*, c. XVI. "He likewise inflicted punishment on the Christians, a sort of people who held a new and impious superstition."

These passages express the Roman disfavor toward a religion which actually assailed the very framework of Roman society by "hating the human race." But a more detailed reason is given in the letters which passed between the emperor Trajan and the famous letter-writer, Pliny the younger, who had been appointed governor of Bithynia, in Asia Minor, in 117 A. D. Here he found many Christians and since he did not know how to deal with them he wrote to Trajan for instructions. Here is his letter together with the reply: "It has been my custom, my master, to refer all things concerning which I have any doubts to you. For who indeed is there better able to enlighten my ignorance? I have never been present at judicial examinations of the Christians; therefore I am ignorant how and to what extent it is customary to punish or to hunt for them. And I have hesitated greatly as to whether any distinction should be made on the ground of age, or whether the weak should be treated in the same way as the strong; whether pardon should be granted to the penitent or whether he who has been a Christian should gain anything by renouncing it; whether the mere name, if unaccompanied with crimes, or crimes associated with the name, should be punished. Meanwhile, with

those who have been brought before me as Christians, I have pursued the following course: I have asked them if they were Christians, and if they have confessed, I have asked them a second and a third time, threatening them with punishment; if they have persisted, I have commanded them to be led away to punishment. For I did not doubt that whatever that might be which they confessed, at any rate pertinacious and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished. There have been others afflicted with like insanity who as Roman citizens I have decided should be sent to Rome. In the course of the proceedings as commonly happens, the crime was extended, and many varieties of cases appeared. An anonymous document was published, containing the names of many persons. Those who denied that they were or had been Christians I thought ought to be released, when they had followed my example in invoking the gods and offering incense and wine to thine image, which I had for that purpose ordered brought with the images of the gods, and when they had besides cursed Christ — things which they say that those who are truly Christians can not be compelled to do. Others, being accused by an informer, first said that they were Christians and afterwards denied it, saying that they had been Christians, but had ceased to be for some three years, some several years, and one even twenty years before. All these adored thine image and the statues of the gods, and cursed Christ. Moreover, they affirmed that this was the sum of their guilt or error; that they had been accustomed to come together on a fixed day before daylight and to sing responsively a song unto Christ as God: and to bind themselves with an oath, not with a view to the commission of some crime, but, on the contrary, that they would not commit theft, nor robbery, nor adultery, that they would not break faith, nor refuse to restore a deposit when asked for it. When they had done these things, their custom was to separate and to assemble again to partake of a meal, common yet harmless (which is not the characteristic of a nefarious superstition): but this they had ceased to do after my edict, in which according to thy demands I had prohibited fraternities. I therefore considered it the more necessary to examine, even with the use of

torture, two female slaves who were called deaconesses, in order to ascertain the truth. But I found nothing except the superstition depraved and immoderate; and therefore, postponing further inquiry, I have turned to thee for advice. For the matter seems to me worth consulting about, especially on account of the numbers of persons involved. For many of every age and of every rank and of both sexes have been already and will be brought to trial. For the contagion of this superstition has permeated not only cities, but also the villages and even the country districts. Yet it can apparently be arrested and corrected. At any rate, it is certainly a fact that the temples, which were almost deserted, are now beginning to be frequented, and the sacred rites which were for a long time interrupted, to be resumed, and fodder for the victims to be sold, for which previously hardly a purchaser was to be found. From which it is easy to gather how great a multitude of men may be reformed if there is given a chance for repentance."

The reply of Trajan reads as follows: "Thou hast followed the right course, my Secundus, in treating the cases of those who have been brought before thee as Christians. For no fixed rule can be laid down which shall be applicable to all cases. They are not to be searched for; if they are accused and convicted, they are to be punished; nevertheless, with the proviso that he who denies that he is a Christian, and proves it by his act,—that is by making supplication to our gods,—although suspected in regard to the past, may by repentance obtain pardon. Anonymous accusations ought not to be admitted in any proceedings; for they are of most evil precedent, and are not in accord with our age."

This letter of Trajan may be taken as stating the law of the empire concerning Christianity although it is directed to a governor of Bithynia only. By it Christians became everywhere outlaws because they endeavored to withdraw themselves from their obligations as Roman subjects. In case they had been willing to conform to the customs and practice of the empire, they, doubtless, would have been left to live their own life as they saw fit. Trajan cared not that they believed in a god other than those of Rome, but that

they desired to become a distinct political organization within the empire. Nor can we greatly wonder that a government dependent for its existence upon the prompt obedience of every subject should deal harshly with persons who did not like to serve in the army, nor go before the courts of law, nor take oath, nor worship the statue of the emperor. An emperor like Trajan whose whole soul was in the building up of the empire and the just administration of the law must be expected to oppose anything which he deemed dangerous to the state.

The revived paganism went forward with an increasing moral earnestness and religious fervor. The Stoic philosophy was the intellectual interpretation of this new pagan faith. It is very close to some of the noblest phases of Christian theology and morals in its speculations on the origin of things and in its ethical ideal. Seneca ranked close with Paul in moral and spiritual insight and no one can read the writings of both without feeling that they were kindred minds drawing lessons from the same source. This movement was to culminate within a century in the lives of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. These Stoic philosophers gave to the empire a rule infinitely superior to anything seen in the reigns of the Christian emperors for more than a hundred years.

This new Stoic paganism grew up along with the great political change which turned a city-state with its military tyranny cloaked in the trappings of a democratic republic, into a broad imperial system embracing many states. The Romans not only overthrew and absorbed the nations about them, they took the gods of these nations and placed them one by one within the Roman Pantheon until it included all the gods and all the worships of the pagan world. But over them all towered Jupiter Capitolinus. This was but the deification of the Capitol City; the real object of Roman worship was Rome itself, as the only religion of Lord Palmerston was said to be England. When the government of the grasping, deified Eternal City passed into the hands of one man, it was but a step to look upon this one man as the *incarnation of the spirit of the State*, himself divine. The

emperor has become a god. This thought was easy, for antiquity, as numerous examples show, but we can with difficulty understand the state of mind that made it possible to look upon a man as a real divinity, a "man-god." However, the notion of a "Divine Person in human form was thoroughly familiar to the pagan mind." Says Professor Allen: "The Emperor was spoken of in language that reflects or prefigures, with strict exactness, that applied in the later creeds to the human life of Christ. This belief in the visible presence of divinity upon earth springs no doubt from sources very different in the Christian, and in the Pagan mind; but they ran closely parallel, and merged in the faith that included both. . . . However crude or impossible it may look to us — there never was a faith in a deity actually walking the earth and conversant among men more positively, sincerely, or in its way devoutly held, than this deification of the Roman Emperor among the people of the provinces."

While there were many things in this growing imperial monotheism that aided in the development of Christianity there was one thing that stood strenuously opposed to it. The State religion became more and more identified with the worship that was paid to the emperor and the symbolic act of imperial worship,—swearing in the name of Caesar, or casting incense in the formal ritual—became the test of political loyalty. To refuse this under any pretext whatsoever was *constructive treason* and punished as such. This was what brought Christians under the ban of the state and made them subject to punishment, and not any hatred of their system on the part of the emperors.

If now we glance at a map of the eastern portion of the Roman empire we will see that Christianity came not into a world which was empty of thought. As soon as it left its home in Judaism, it was met and absorbed by the most brilliant and intellectual of all the races of mankind, the Greeks. They followed the natural plan, one that has ever been dominant, and interpreted the gospel in the light of their own science and philosophy, and religious concepts. They had numerous religions, each with its secrets which were imparted only to those persons initiated into their mys-

teries. Christianity had made its appearance as the proclamation of the "Kingdom of God and of Jesus Christ the Lord and Mediator of this Kingdom." It had spread chiefly through the medium of the preaching of salvation on the basis of the Jewish belief in God as set forth in the Old Testament. This necessarily involved some explanation, and reflection upon the principles of belief set forth. The simple popular standpoint of mere Christian faith was sufficient for the needs of the early church, but Paul seemed to think that self-vindication was necessary for the church and, therefore, proceeded to explain and elaborate its simple tenets into a Christian philosophy. To do this he made use of the system of theology already developed in Judaism. The author of the Fourth Gospel went farther and, with the aid of Stoic philosophy, developed the speculative doctrine of the "Divine Logos become flesh." This may be considered as the basic lines of a *higher knowledge* developed out of the revelation of God in Jesus. "The effect of this 'gnosis' in general is directed toward the grasping of the deeper sense of its histories or myths, its mysteries or commands, and to getting behind the letter of the religious records. Hence, we find in the Christian sphere too, that the name Gnosis is used with special preference for this investigation of the deeper sense of the positive religious commands, and the development of the deeper meaning of Scripture, for which (in the Christian sphere) in the recognition of revelation, the opportunity was so much the more suggested as the conditions for historical interpretation were lacking. In the Christian sphere, however, . . . the evangelical history of salvation in connection with the Israelitish history of salvation . . . had itself also to become the object of this gnosis, with a view to the apprehension of its ideal worth. . . ." (Moeller.) The application of this principle resulted in a number of interpretations of Christianity called in general "knowledge (gnosis) the thought being that those who possessed this inner and deeper understanding knew the real or ideal essence of the gospel much better than the ordinary unlettered believer. This led to many attempts to develop the simpler Christian saving faith into a 'religio-philosophical view of

the world.' " To understand how this could take place we must remember that "Christianity did not deliver a new law in a distinct set of formal precepts, nor found a new society organized from without in certain fixed and inevitable external forms; . . . it did not communicate a rigid system of doctrines, settled and determined once for all, in certain ready made conceptions." In this way the field was left open to be occupied by all manner of speculative philosophies, honest and otherwise. The new cult of "knowledge" or gnosticism had its beginning before the later books of the New Testament were written. The Pastoral Epistles and the Johannine literature contain clear references to it. Paul's Epistles contain the gnostic mode of thought, and it is clear in the works of Philo, an Alexandrian Jew, who wrote from about 10 to 50 A. D., but its complete systems did not develop their full power till the middle of the second century. It was not heretical in the ordinary sense. But before entering into a discussion of the fundamental tenets of gnosticism, it is necessary to turn aside for a brief consideration of the dominating philosophy of the Roman empire of the second century, the Stoic.

The founder of the Stoic philosophy was Zeno, a Phoenician, from Citium, a city of Cyprus. He, therefore, did not even have the distinction of being a Greek. He went to Athens about the year 320 B. C. and attended the various schools of philosophy for some time. Finally he established a school of his own somewhat eclectic in nature, partaking of certain tenets of all the other schools which he had attended, classified and arranged into a new system. This school quickly surpassed all its rivals and held an undisputed supremacy for several centuries. Zeno was at first a Cynic, an offshoot of the philosophy of Socrates, but later became dissatisfied with the crudeness of this school and turned to the Megarian philosopher, Cates, who set forth the tenets of Socrates in a more attractive form. The primary interest of Zeno and his followers was practical rather than spiritual, and the Socratic ideal of virtue, "the salvation of the individual by means of self-elevation of spirit, and indifference

to suffering procured through inward peace of mind," were prominent characteristics of Stoic teaching.

During the five hundred years of Stoic supremacy, a good many changes naturally took place. The Roman Republic had overthrown the nations of the East and taken unto herself their philosophies and their religions. The Republic had finally been overthrown and the Roman Empire had supplanted the "City State" and become a world power. All nationalities had been absorbed and the "peace of the empire" was the "peace of the world." The Stoic school of philosophy went through a process of growth to keep up with the world's political change, but it did not lose its essential characteristics. As seen in the middle of the second century A. D. the Stoic viewed humanity from a distinctly religious standpoint. In fact Stoicism was more a religion than a philosophy. To the Stoic, "All men are not only made in the rational image of God but bear about a spark of deity — the rational soul — within their own breasts. Every man is a child of God in virtue of this rational soul within him. Hence the chief end of existence is virtuous living which consists in conformity to the divine will. Marcus Aurelius, repeating Stoic sentiment since Zeno, argues that since we are all rational beings we are all under one ethical standard and one world-law and so sharers of a common citizenship. Thus the connection between man and God, as well as the common bond uniting all mankind, is the Logos, the divine Reason, or the 'Word' as it is commonly rendered at the beginning of the Fourth Gospel, since God is thus the father of all, all men are brothers and all class distinctions are only artificial barriers to be removed by religion rather than by social revolution. Even the slave finds his deliverance in the realm of right thinking. This freedom is secured through the attainment of personal virtue, which is a conquest of the will transcending all life's disturbances. Real slaves are not made by barter but by deficiencies in character. But the truly wise man who fully realizes his powers of divine rationality has little concern for outward circumstances." (Case.)

The Stoic recognized the obligations he was under to his fellowmen and interpreted his mission to be that of an evangelist. "The true teacher," says Epictetus, "feels himself to be a messenger of Zeus, whose he is and whom he serves. One who attempts so great a task without the aid of God is sure to incur disaster. . . . He must stand before the world as a God-sent example of patient endurance, without house, without estate, without a servant, lying on the ground, without kin, and having only earth and heaven and one poor cloak."

The Stoic taught submission to the divine will as the chief end of life. The ideal relationship between individuals was interpreted to be "brotherhood among men who have God as their common father." They inculcated four cardinal virtues to be cultivated: Wisdom, Courage, Justice, and Soberness. Constant self-examination was insisted upon. Epictetus, with religious fervor, enjoins upon his pupils the verses of Pythagoras:

"Let sleep not come upon thy languid eyes
Before each daily action thou hast scanned,
What's done amiss, what done, what left undone;
From first to last examine all and then
Blame what is wrong, in what is right rejoice."

Turning again to the tenets of the Gnostics we may now see to what extent they were influenced by the Stoic philosophy. Gnosticism generally taught that God was a perfect spiritual being, differing much from the God Jehovah of the Old Testament. He sent Christ to reveal Himself and to give man knowledge by which they could escape from the kingdom of evil, into which they had fallen, to that of righteousness or light. To the gnostic the physical world of matter was evil in itself. This also Paul taught. By reason of this any real incarnation was utterly unthinkable as that would make Christ a partaker of the evil nature of all flesh, the spirit being corrupted by its evil environment. To avoid this there were two schools of thought: the one, held that the body of Christ was a mere ghostly deception or mask without substance, an appearance only; Christ's death was

of the same nature, a phantasm; the other held that Jesus was the legitimate son of Joseph and Mary, and was a man like any other. At his baptism, the Christ, the eon, or Son of God, descended from heaven in the form of a dove and took possession of him, using his body as a mask while preaching to the people. When about to be crucified, the Christ went back to heaven, leaving the man Jesus, to suffer upon the cross. These were but ways invented by man to dodge the unthinkable proposition that man, the creature, had put God, his creator, to a degrading death.

This gnostic manner of thinking denied the historic continuity of Christianity with the Old Testament revelation. Denying the incarnation, it necessarily denied the validity of any expiation of sin through the shedding of blood. This was made doubly clear from the fact (as they explained it) that not the Christ but only a mere man died. Gnosticism changed Christianity into a form of knowledge, for those who could understand, which explained the origin and nature of the universe. Thus, in the *minds of educated Greeks, Christianity became a speculative philosophy instead of a "life," as Jesus taught.*

The concept of Christ which was held by the gnostics as fundamental was accepted and advocated by Marcion, a man of deep religious spirit, who may be considered in some respects the first church reformer of history. He was a citizen of Sinope in Pontus of Asia Minor. He had inherited both wealth and position from his father who was a wealthy shipowner in his native city. Marcion himself was subsequently designated as the "Ship-owner." He was converted from Paganism to Christianity when a mere youth and entered into the Christian life with an earnest enthusiasm that distinguished him throughout his life. In 139 he made his way to Rome, perhaps led there in the way of business, and united with the Christian church at that place. He showed his generosity by bestowing upon the community a large sum of gold, the chief part of his inheritance. But he found the Roman Church much different from that of his native city, being much more formal and conservative, out of sympathy with his liberal views which he had imbibed in his Asiatic

home. He accused the Roman Church of having Judaized the simple gospel and got away from that freedom from law and ritualism which Paul preached. This was, no doubt, true in large measure and was due to Petrine influence upon the tradition of the church.

Marcion strove ardently for some years to bring the body of presbyters and the whole congregation to his way of thinking, but to no avail. They were as rigidly set in their way of thinking as he was in his. He thereupon withdrew from the large and prosperous church which had been ministered to by Peter and Paul, and founded a new community across the Tiber which he considered the only real Roman Christians. To this body he admitted all believers without distinction of age, sex, rank, or culture. He was determined to lay the foundation of this Christian community upon the pure Gospel of Christ, stripped from all Judaism. In order that he might instruct the members of his church in what he believed to be the real teaching of Jesus, he gathered together ten of the epistles of Paul whom he considered the only genuine apostle, and the Gospel of Luke which he considered the only genuine Gospel. This he expurgated of all references to the Old Testament and everything that would connect Jesus with Judaism. The writings which he thus assembled he taught as the only authentic ones and his congregation was pretty carefully trained in their use. This new community flourished amazingly and threatened to rival and even eclipse the older organization.

It now became necessary as never before for the party in the church which represented historic Christianity to marshal their forces and defend their position. This they hastened to do. Their first move was to gather together a collection of what they deemed authoritative writings, thus making up the major part of our New Testament. Here it is necessary to state that up to this time no effort had been put forward to gather together the various Christian writings into one body. The church at Rome was by far the most wealthy and most numerous of the Christian communities, yet it had comparatively few of the writings now embraced in the New Testament. There were many oral traditions afloat

among the people. There did not exist a complete collection of the Epistles of Paul (some of these were already lost). There was no church that possessed complete copies of the Synoptic Gospels. There were many good reasons for this condition in the churches. Many of the communities were poor and unable to pay for such writings. There were few members of the Christian communities that were able to write sufficiently well to make copies of such voluminous manuscripts. The circulation of Christian epistles and Gospels was very slow, depending upon chance travellers from one city to another where they were read and then passed on to another community. There existed no authority to determine the authenticity of the writings in existence. There were many epistles and writings circulating under the name of Apostles, and sayings of Jesus, that subsequently proved to be false and misleading. At last the leading churches were compelled to act. They answered the gnostics in general and Marcion in particular by making a careful search for all writings known to be in circulation. These they examined carefully and chose those considered authentic. The standard by which they tested these was *the usage of the churches that were founded by the Apostles, and guaranteed by the continuity of their officers*. This same plan was followed in the preparation of creeds or things taught as fundamentals in all historic Christian communities. Out of this bitter conflict there came the rigid, doctrinally conservative, legalistic church of the third century, known as the "Old Catholic" church. Here we can only trace the beginnings of this notable struggle and sketch some of the transforming elements.

The gnostic element of discord sprang from within and very seriously threatened, if not the life, the usefulness of the church. Other dangers threatened from without. The heathen population was stirred to hatred by reason of misunderstanding and jealousy. The Roman government, though usually careless of the religious thought and practice of the people, viewed this new religion as unpatriotic and stubborn because of the unwillingness of its adherents to conform to the worship which was prescribed by the state.

This was looked upon as utterly unreasonable and destructive of all discipline by the ordinary Roman citizen. It was dishonoring the state. The people charged Christians with immoral practices and usages revolting to the Roman conscience, such as incest, blood-drinking, and cannibalism. This because they refused to participate in heathen festivals and carried on a separate form of religion in private. The Jews were open enemies of Christians, and they formed an influential party because of their great wealth even though their numbers were small. These were the conditions which threatened Christianity when Justin appeared and took upon himself the task of defending the Christian faith against all of its enemies.

Justin, subsequently known as the Martyr, was perhaps the most useful of the Christian writers of the second century, as well as a striking and picturesque figure. Without him we could know little or nothing about the history of the struggles and triumphs of the church in a very critical period of its existence. Justin was born in Flavia Neapolis, a flourishing city in ancient Samaria, about fifty miles nearly north from Jerusalem. He was of heathen origin, a Greek in blood, language and training, and knew nothing of the Hebrew Scriptures, though raised in a country that recognized them as embodying its religion. We know nothing with certainty concerning the date of his birth but it could not have been far from the year 100. His family was one of wealth and distinction and gave to him the best education that heathenism afforded. He was, like Paul, freed from the burden of self-support and gave all the energy of his brilliant intellect to study. He was a studious and thoughtful youth, and grew naturally into a studious and thoughtful man. Here the parallel between him and Paul is complete. His viewpoint was ever that of a scholar. Paul, while liberally trained in the schools of Judaism, was ever a Jew. Justin, while liberally trained in Greek ethics and philosophy, gave the best years of his life to the study of the Hebrew prophets. But in thought he was ever a Greek. He gives us, in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, a very picturesque account of his search for a satisfactory philosophy whereby he was

led in a very haphazard sort of a way to the study of the philosophy of Plato and finally found rest and satisfaction in this the most spiritual of all the philosophies of the ancients. Having mastered the teachings of Plato he assumed the philosopher's cloak, which he thereafter always wore, and henceforth gave his time to travelling and teaching.

Having entered upon his professional life and having ample wealth, he travelled extensively, spending some time at Ephesus where, in the pursuit of his calling, he fell in with the old man whose conversation led to his conversion to Christianity. He tells us in a very graphic way how he was walking by the seashore when he happened to come upon an old man with whom he engaged in conversation. In the course of their discussion this old man asked him why he did not give his attention to the study of the Hebrew prophets, as they were "men more ancient than all those who are esteemed philosophers, both righteous and beloved of God, who spoke by the Divine Spirit and foretold events which would take place. . . . Their writings are still extant." This seems to have captured not only the attention of Justin, but also his heart. "Immediately," he says, "a flame was kindled in my soul; and a love of the prophets, and of those who were in Christ possessed me; and I found this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable."

The conversion of Justin, like that of Paul, is undoubted, but the account of it is probably the product of Justin's literary skill and may not represent the real history of the event. When this took place can not be determined but must have been before he reached middle life, shortly after the rebellion of Bar Cochba in 132-135. While the language used by Justin implies sudden and immediate act, it is not necessary to suppose that there was no period of preparation. Indeed Justin shows us quite clearly that such was not the case for he says (Second Apology, XIII): "I, myself, too, when I was delighting in the doctrines of Plato, and heard the Christians slandered, and saw them fearless of death, and of all other things which one counted fearful, perceived that it was impossible that they could be living in wicked self-indulgence." This he felt and pondered.

Then he discovered, to his own amazement, that the despised Christianity was the one great satisfying philosophy of the world and life. He embraced it and began immediately to teach it with fervor at Ephesus. After a few years he made his way to Rome and opened a school where he taught and wrote to the end of his life.

The conversion of Justin should be studied with very great care as it was entirely different in nature from that of St. Paul. It did not grow, as did Paul's, out of any profound sense of sin and new life through union with Christ. It was rather a conviction, that came to him through study, that God had spoken through the prophets and in this manner revealed the truth in Christ, and that in Christ's message alone was to be found the true philosophy of conduct and life. Justin looked upon the Old Testament as the fountain from which flowed the "waters of life," because it, to him, foretold the coming of Christ for whose truths he was ever ready to suffer. To teach them became henceforth the employment of his life.

There have now been manifested three interpretations of Christianity:

(1) Peter preached a Suffering Messiah and salvation through faith in his name.

(2) Paul preached redemption from sin through the risen Christ entering and taking possession of a man so that he was dead to sin and alive through Christ. "No longer I, but Christ that liveth in me."

(3) Justin preached salvation through the acceptance of "the teachings of Christ" without any marked moment of conversion.

All three of these interpretations have been wonderfully fruitful in the strengthening and building up of the Christian church.

It was in the sixth year of the reign of Antoninus Pius (161 probably) that Justin wrote his celebrated Apology addressed to that emperor and his adopted sons, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. He asks these rulers in a simple, direct and manly fashion to abstain from punishing Christians until they have first discovered by examination

whether they are guilty of the crimes charged against them, and not to condemn them on the mere name. Christians are accused of being atheists and despisers of the gods. "We confess that we are atheists in so far as heathen gods are concerned but not with respect to the most true God, the Father of righteousness and temperance and the other virtues, who is free from all iniquity."

Christians are frequently charged with disloyalty to the Roman State; but that is simply because our accusers do not understand the nature of the kingdom that Christians seek. "When you hear that we look for a kingdom you suppose, without making any inquiry, that we speak of a human kingdom; whereas we speak of that which is with God." Christians can not be considered disloyal, but are rather the best of citizens. "More than all other men we are your helpers and allies in promoting peace, seeing that we hold this view, that it is alike impossible for the wicked, the covetous, the conspirator, and for the virtuous to escape the notice of God, and that each man goes to everlasting punishment or salvation according to the value of his actions."

Justin further declares that the worship of the Christians "is a thoroughly rational worship; not by useless sacrifices but by offering thanks, by invocations and hymns for our creation and for all the means of health, and for the various qualities of the different kinds of things, and for the changes of the seasons; and to present before him petitions for our existing again in incorruption through faith in him." "Our teacher of these things is Jesus Christ who also was born for this purpose, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, governor of Judea, in the time of Tiberius Caesar; and we will prove that we reasonably worship Him, having learned that He is the son of the true God Himself, and holding Him in the second place, and the prophetic spirit in the third."

The quotation just given shows that Justin's Christology had not developed the doctrine of the Trinity as it subsequently appeared. He places Christ at the head of a host of angels together with the prophetic spirit, all ministering angels or servants of the one high God, and yields "worship and adoration" to all of them (Apology VI). His is a

gnostic concept very close to that of the great Stoic philosophers to whom he addressed his apology. He sees in Christ the divine activity always manifest in the world; never idle; a constant outflowing of the wisdom of God; Christ (the Logos) is merely the intelligence of God in action. Justin took up the Logos doctrine of the Stoics, which is, beyond doubt, the origin of the "Logos" or "Word" philosophy in the Gospel of John, and combined with it the "divine Wisdom" as set forth in Proverbs (viii, 22-31). He taught that the divine intelligence had always been at work, not alone in creation and in the revelation of God to an Abraham or a Moses, but illuminating a Socrates or a Heraclitus or a Plato; in fact inspiring all good everywhere. In Jesus this divine Wisdom was fully revealed. "It took shape and became man and was called Jesus." It was the "old man" whom Justin met on the sea-shore at Ephesus and who introduced him to the Hebrew prophets that opened the way to the source of all Justin's inspiration. These he studied with the same intensity as did Paul and he went little beyond them as he shows no familiarity with the New Testament writings. In Justin's view the prophets foretold the coming of Christ and made clear the meaning of that coming. This is clearly seen in his Dialogue with Trypho, the Jewish philosopher. It was in the Old Testament prophecies that he gathered the material for his arguments. It is "Christ that established another covenant and another law." It is Christ that has "revealed God to man and has shown man God's will." He has established baptism as the rite effecting the remission of sins.

To the mind of Justin Jesus Christ was the greatest of all Lawgivers and a Revealer of the will of God the Father. He everywhere emphasizes the teachings of Jesus, but in no place does he give any special value to the sacrificial element. He says nothing about the cross save as an emblem, and nothing about the "shed blood" as an instrument of salvation.

Justin made a most able defense of Christianity against its heathen and Jewish critics in his Apology and the Dialogue with Trypho. He also wrote extensively against Marcion, the gnostic reformer, but these writings have all been lost.

However, the early church was not distinguished for the charity which it showed to its opponents and, as this dispute was bitter in the extreme, we are to be congratulated that the good has been left to us while the rest has perished.

Justin has given us a very interesting and instructive account, in the *Apology*, of the simple worship of the Roman church in the middle of the second century. This doubtless also furnishes us with a very fair account of the practices in all the other Christian communities. Ch. 61: "I will also relate the manner in which we dedicated ourselves to God when we had been made new through Christ; lest, if we omit this, we seem to be unfair in the explanation we are making. As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and to entreat God with fasting, for the remission of their sins that are past, we fasting and praying with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water and regenerated in the same manner in which we ourselves were regenerated." Thus admission to the membership of the church was by *faith, repentance, an upright life, and baptism*. It must be remembered that "by faith" Justin meant an acceptance of *Christ's teachings* and not "faith" according to Paul's view,—an acceptance of a new personal relationship. Justin has furnished us no evidence of being acquainted with the Epistles of Paul. So soon as a person was baptized he was counted in full membership of the church and shared in its worship. A probationary period did not obtain till later.

Service in the Roman church was as follows. Ch. 67: "And on the day called Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles are read, as long as time permits; then when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray, and, as we before said, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water, are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability, and the people assist, saying Amen; and there is a distribution to each and a participa-

tion in that over which thanks have been given, and to those who are absent, a portion is sent by the deacons, and those who are well to do, and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succors the orphans and widows, and those who through sickness or any other cause are in want, and those who are in bonds and the strangers that are sojourning with us, and, in a word, takes care of all who are in need."

This is a most complete and pleasing account of Christian service in the middle of the second century. The churches were still close-knit little congregations, regarding themselves as separated from the world, and looked upon with suspicion as unpatriotic, atheistical, and guilty of the grossest immorality.

Justin himself received the crown of martyrdom after some years of great usefulness in the defense of Christianity and the teaching of its fundamental principles as he saw them. He was put to death in the reign of Marcus Aurelius and the governorship of Junius Rusticus, in Rome (163-167). There is a full account given of his trial and execution in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, volume one, pages 305-306. Thus died "as a willing martyr to his faith" a most deserving Christian hero, who, like Paul, gave his all in the service of his Master.

Athanasius was an Athenian philosopher and a Christian apologist of the second century. We know nothing of his history save a brief notice by the writer Philip of Side in Pamphilia who makes use of his treatise on the Resurrection. Philip says that he was at the head of a school at Alexandria and that he lived in the time of Hadrian, to whom he addressed his apology. He, moreover, states that he was a teacher of Clement of Alexandria. But it does not seem possible that these statements are correct, as Philip did not write till 420, being too late to be trustworthy, and he does not agree either with Eusebius or the inscription in the author's work which is as follows: "Embassy of Athanasius, the Athenian, a philosopher and a Christian, concerning the Christians, to the Emperors, Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus, etc." The date

of the apology may be fixed from this incident at about 177 A. D. This work is entirely similar to that by Justin. The author proceeds upon the same lines and his arguments duplicate those of Justin. He defends Christians against the charge of atheism and immorality and takes the opportunity to make a vigorous attack on pagan polytheism and mythology. While his apology must have been valuable at the time it was written, it is not necessary to quote his arguments as they are one with those of Justin, already given. His treatise on the Resurrection is extant and, like that of Justin on the same theme, is an attempted proof of the reasonableness of a belief in the *resurrection of the physical body*. Such arguments must be judged from the standpoint and time of the writer, but the advancement made in the physical sciences in our day has rendered all such writings valueless.

The Muritorian Fragment belongs to the latter half of the second century. Its author is unknown. It was discovered by Muritori, in 1740, and his name has, by reason of this, been attached to the fragment. It is in barbarous Latin and has doubtless been translated from an old Greek manuscript. Without beginning and without end, it seems to be an account of Mark's Gospel . . . "but at some he was present and so he set them down." The writer goes on to mention with brief comment, the Gospels of Luke, John and Matthew; also the Epistles of Paul, that of Jude, and those of first and second John; the Wisdom of Solomon, the Apocalypses of John and Peter, and the Shepherd of Hermas. This is doubtless the oldest list of the canonical books of the New Testament. It will be necessary to touch upon this fragment later.

Tatian, a Syrian, probably born in Mesopotamia, was a philosopher, who, like Justin, was converted to Christianity in middle life. He went to Rome and became a friend and fellow-worker of Justin. After the death of Justin he accepted to a certain extent the tenets of the gnostics and became the founder of a new sect called the "Encratites" or "The Self-controlled." He established a school at Antioch where he labored with some success to the time of his

death. While he was an orthodox Christian he wrote many works. Of these all but two have been lost, his Address to the Greeks, and his Diatesseron, or Harmony of the Four Gospels. This latter work was for many years lost, but has been recently recovered in an Arabic version. It is a very valuable work, proving that all four Gospels were in use as early as 170.

CHAPTER XI

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

“**I**F,” says Emerton, “you will read carefully in your New Testament the Acts of the Apostles and the Letters written by Paul and others to the first gatherings of persons who called themselves followers of Jesus, you will know as much as any one knows about the beginnings of the Christian Church. You will find that there were scattered about in the chief cities of the Roman empire, especially in the eastern part of it, little groups of men and women who had found something in the teachings of Jesus which satisfied their desires for a higher life, better than the religion of Rome or that of any of her conquered provinces. From these little congregations, these teachings spread more and more until within a hundred years from the death of Jesus we find them taken up by men of learning and position, and becoming so popular that the Roman government began to think them dangerous and to try to put them down by persecution.”

If we examine the reference made above to the Acts of the Apostles we will find (Chapter vi, 1-6) the following account of the first organization of a Christian Church: “And in those days, when the number of the disciples were multiplied, there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration.

“Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables. Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word. And the saying pleased the whole multitude: and they chosen Stephen, a man full of faith and

the Holy Ghost, and Philip, and Prochorus, and Nicanor, and Timon, and Parmenas, and Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch; whom they set before the apostles: and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them. And the word of God increased; and the number of disciples multiplied in Jerusalem; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith."

The rapid growth of the communities in the earliest times and the practical needs arising therefrom, especially in regard to the care of the poor, led very naturally to the establishment of community organization, as described by Luke in the passage quoted, and the choice of the seven deacons. There were no official distinctions separating the Apostles from the rest of the community. By their relation to the Master they were better fitted to lead as "witnesses" than were the others. The "ministry of the word" must have occupied their time and strength. Their original position as "heads of the Christian family" must have given them the general guidance of the community, but all these influences and powers were outside of any official position or class distinction. They advised and instructed, they exhorted and preached the word, without distinction of office or pay. The necessary development of organization was first in the direction of care for the poor and dependent. It is here that we see for the first time the difference between the Hebrew and Hellenic Christians, i.e., between believing Palestinian Jews that dwelt in and about Jerusalem and were free from the influence of Greek customs and manners, and the Greek Jews from the western part of the empire whom the dispersion had scattered far and wide, and who used the Greek language as a means of communication and were more or less saturated with foreign ideas. This first start of congregational organization was not permanently developed, but gave way to the necessities of a later growth. Socially this primitive society was bound together by a "community of goods." This is a plain inference from the words of Luke, and was easily gathered from the words of the Master to be the essence of his teaching. It is not necessary to load this with the idea of "abstract communism," according to

which each man also gave up all that he had earned by labor to the common purse and received what was necessary for his sustenance from it. This would imply an organization of their society more complete and rigid than we have any evidence to sustain. But they did believe in the quick coming of the end of the world and their religious enthusiasm led them to despise the gathering of the things of this life.

In the communities of Gentile Christians established by Paul, the organization must have differed quite radically from that just described, although the Jewish synagogue was the early pattern for some of the first organizations formed by him. The Jews strove everywhere to make their local organization independent so that they might have complete jurisdiction in local affairs. This was in accordance with the method of Roman government and was quite generally allowed. Every synagogue had its body of elders, or presbyters, who had oversight of all local matters. These elders were chosen by the free vote of the Jewish community. In case such a community was wholly converted to Christianity it would doubtless continue its method of government undisturbed and so gives us an example of Christian presbyteries. But this must not be generally supposed, as Jews were too stubborn in their conservatism to warrant any such wholesale conversion, and we must look elsewhere for the shaping of the Gentile Christian community. Professor Hatch gives the following brief but excellent summary of another source for this:

“Among the many parallels which can be drawn between the first centuries of the Christian era and our own times, there is probably none more striking than that of their common tendency towards the formation of associations. There were then, as now, associations for almost innumerable purposes in almost all parts of the empire. There were trade guilds and dramatic guilds; there were athletic clubs, and burial clubs, and dining clubs; there were friendly societies, and literary societies, and financial societies: if we omit those special products of our own time, natural science and social science, there was scarcely an object for which men combine now for which they did not combine then.

“There was more than one attempt at repression. The State feared lest the honey-combing of the empire by organizations which in their nature were private, and so tended to be secret, might be a source of political danger: but the drift of the currents of society towards associations was too strong for even the empire to resist.

“The most important among them were the *religious* associations. Almost all associations seem to have had a religious element; they were under the protection of a tutelary divinity, in the same way as at the present day similar associations on the continent of Europe invoke the name of a patron saint: and their meetings were sometime called by a name which was afterwards consecrated to Christian uses — that of a ‘sacred synod.’ But in a considerable proportion religion was, beyond this, the basis and bond of union. Inside the religion of the state, and tolerated by it, were many forms of religion and many modes of worship. Then, as now, many men had two religions, that which they professed and that which they believed; for the former there were temples and state officials and public sacrifices; for the latter there were associations; and in these associations, as is shown from extant inscriptions, divinities whom the state ignored had their priests, their chapels, and their rituals.

“When the truths of Christianity were first preached, especially in the larger towns of the empire, the aggregation of those who accepted those truths into societies was thus not an isolated phenomenon. . . . The tendency to association had become a fixed habit. The Christian communities multiplied, and persecution forged for them a stronger bond of unity. But to the eye of the outside observer they were in the same category as the associations which already existed. They had the same names for their meetings, and some of the same names for their officers. The basis of association, in the one case as the other, was the profession of a common religion. The members, in the one case as in the other, contributed to or received from a common fund, and in many cases, if not universally, shared in a common meal. Admission was open, in the one case as in the other, not only

to free-born citizens, but to women and strangers, to freedmen and slaves."

Roman society, during the early centuries of the Christian era, had passed through an economic crisis which had left as a result a permanent disturbance of the social equilibrium. Capital was employed in luxury rather than in productive industries. Rome was consuming what should have been her capital. This was, to say the least, poor business policy. Wealth tended to accumulate in fewer hands and the lines which separated the poor from the rich became more and more sharply defined. The industrial prosperity of peoples depends not on the mass of national wealth but upon its distribution. When the masses are reduced to poverty while a pampered few roll in limitless riches the health and even the life of the nation is threatened. The old distinctions of patrician and plebeian, optimate and democrat, citizen and foreigner, had long since passed away, all being merged in the one distinction of rich and poor. It is true there was not that kind of distress which is caused by a great famine or a great pestilence, but there was a tremendous tension of the fibers of the social organism. It was the crisis of the economical history of the Western world. Under this stress there grew and multiplied a new class in Graeco-Roman society, the class of paupers. It can also be said to the honor of the Romans that there developed out of this stress a new virtue,— the virtue of philanthropy, the tendency to help the poor. Increasingly large sums were given by the wealthy to be expended in food for the poor. The Emperor Trajan established in Italy a great system for the maintenance and education of children. For this purpose he contributed liberally of his own private means. Municipalities followed this lead and even vied with the generous emperor in providing education and support for the poor and the friendless. Societies were founded in various cities for the relief of those who were sick and unable to care for themselves, and for the support of widows and destitute orphans.

If, now, we look at the Christian communities which have sprung up in the centers of Gentile population, simply on

their human side as organizations we will find many points of similarity between them and the various other societies among which they are located. Of course they were at first drawn together by the force of a great spiritual emotion, the sense of sin, the belief in a Redeemer, the hope of the life to come. It was looked upon as a duty by those who had "this world's goods," to help those who were in need; a duty which could not be denied. They believed the teaching of the Lord Himself to be a teaching of entire self-sacrifice. "Sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven." The teaching of the earliest Christian homily that has come down to us, that of Clement of Rome, elevates alms-giving to the chief place in Christian living: "Fasting is better than prayer, alms giving is better than fasting; blessed is the man who is found perfect therein, for alms-giving lightens the weight of sin."

The Christian communities surpassed all others in their care for the poor. While other societies were charitable incidentally, they gave to the religious revival which accompanied the economic crisis the special direction of philanthropy, and "brought into the European world that regard for the poor which had been for several centuries the burden of Jewish hymns."

It seems perfectly clear from the nature of the case that, since these societies were chiefly charitable their officers of finance and administration would be very important. This was the case among contemporary non-Christian organizations. They had officers of administration and finance called *episcopoi* or bishops. This name became so strongly impressed upon Christian societies that it has kept its place until modern times, and has preserved its form both East and West through all the vicissitudes of meaning. The name was also made use of by municipalities to designate a committee of the governing body appointed to administer funds set apart for any special purpose.

Early Christian societies had a body of officers which bore the collective name of *ordo* and which bore the same relation to the society that the senate did to the municipality. They were known individually and collectively by the same name

that the Jews gave to the governing body of the synagogue, that of elders or presbyters. These officers acted as a governing body and also as administrators. When they performed the former duties they were called presbyters, when they performed the latter duties, they were called *episcopoi* or bishops. It would seem at once desirable to appoint a committee, usually of one person, to administer the funds of the society and to keep an account of the same. This committee would naturally be the presiding officer or president. Having accounted for the origin of the officers of the primitive Christian communities, we will now arrange them in order and define their powers and functions.

We have seen that the presbyterate of the Gentile churches had a spontaneous and independent origin, and was in no way copied after that of the Hebrew communities. But when, in the second century, the distinction between the Christian communities which had once been Jewish and those which were originally Gentile had passed away, the Jewish conception of the nature of the governing council undoubtedly became the dominant one. This made of the presbyters a disciplinary body, confining their activity almost wholly to this function. It is true that Polycarp's exhortation to the presbyters at Philippi shows that they had complete administrative control. It was their duty "to visit the sick, to provide for the widows and orphans and poor, to turn back those who had gone astray from the error of their ways, to sit in merciful judgment upon those who had committed wrong." It does not appear that these duties wholly ceased to be the duties of presbyters. They still remained in theory at least, the council of the bishop, even after the bishop had become a virtual autocrat. But it is, nevertheless, clear that their chief duty became one of discipline. They sat as a court to decide cases that were brought before them. The building in which they sat was ordinarily called a *basilica* or courthouse, while that portion of it in which they sat was designated as the judgment-seat.

It is impossible for us at this late age to understand how large a part discipline filled in the communities of primitive times. Many divergent views are today maintained as to the

relation of church government to social life. Then the tie of a common belief was looser than the tie of a common ideal and a common practice. "The creed was as yet vague; the moral code was clear. For the Kingdom of God was come which was a kingdom of righteousness. Each organized gathering of believers seemed to itself to be the veritable realization of that Holy City of which the greatest of the Hebrew poets had sung and which the divinest of Christian seers had seen. Between that City of God, and the diseased and decaying society which surrounded it, there was a perpetual and sharp antithesis. "Christian communities . . . were in the world. Their members were brought face to face day by day with the seething mass of corruption from which divine grace had rescued them. . . . Moral purity was not so much a virtue at which they were bound to aim as the very condition of their existence. If the salt of the earth should lose its savor, wherewith should it be salted? If the lights of the world were dimmed, who would rekindle their flame? And of this moral purity the officers of each community were the custodians." Tertullian, the celebrated Latin father, said touching this very matter: "We come together to call the sacred writings to remembrance, if so be that the character of the present times compel us either to use admonition or recollection in any thing. In any case, by these holy words we feed our faith, raise our hopes, establish our confidence; nor do we the less strengthen our discipline by inculcating precepts. For our judgment also cometh with great weight as of men well assured that they are under the eye of God; and it is a very grave forestalling of the judgment to come if any shall have so offended as to be out of the communion of prayer, of the solemn assembly, and of holy fellowship. The most approved elders preside." It was about this same time that Origen, when refuting the statement made by his opponent Celsus in regard to the indiscriminate character of the Christian congregation, said: "There are men appointed among us to examine closely into the lives and characters of those who come to us, that they may prevent those who do what is forbidden from entering our common assembly, and that by receiving those who do otherwise they

may make them better day by day." The Clementines put these words into the mouth of St. Peter: "Do ye as elders of the Church adorn with discipline the bride of Christ — and by the bride of Christ I mean the whole assembly of the Church — in moral purity: for if she be found pure by the bridegroom King, she herself will gain great delights: but if she be found to have sinned, she herself will be cast out, and ye will suffer punishment because, it may be, the sin has happened through your neglect."

It may be inferred from the words of St. Paul, "If then ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the Church," that the assembly itself acted as a judge in matters of dispute, or chose some one of their number to act as a representative of the whole body, but in later times when the organization of the churches was more complete this jurisdiction belonged not to the whole body, but to the council of presbyters. This is made clear enough by a statement in the *Clementines*, which certainly voices the established order: "Let not those who have disputes go to law before the civil powers, but let them by all means be reconciled by the *elders of the Church*, and let them readily yield to their decision."

It has been shown in another place in this chapter that there was no difference between presbyters and bishops; that the name bishop was applied to a presbyter when he acted in an administrative capacity; that usually the administrative functions of the presbyters were given to a committee of the number, of which committee the president would regularly be a member, sometimes, indeed, the only member. The early Christian writers always use the plural when speaking of the church officers, and they use various terms of designation, all perhaps meaning the same and interchangeable. This is probably due to the fact that the same officers performed various functions or acted in different capacities. During the course of the second century it came to pass that one of these officers was singled out from among the others and made to stand on a somewhat higher plane. This person was the presiding officer or president of the official body. This differentiation seems entirely natural and necessary. It seems

to have been a universal custom among the Hebrews. The plan was followed by the apostles who sometimes entrusted the oversight of a community to some one officer, or it may be, to a private individual. Again, marked ability or special powers gave to some one man a paramount influence. James, "the Lord's brother," is spoken of as "bishop of bishops," apparently by reason of this natural election. If there was no other mark of distinction, age or length of service as an officer, would be sufficient to designate the person who should preside. By a process of natural assumption this single officer monopolized the name which was at first given to the whole body of presbyters when acting in an administrative capacity.

The question might well be asked why was that name used to designate the president which applied only to financial and administrative functions? The key to the answer to this question seems to be furnished by the fact set forth by Justin Martyr, "that the offerings of Christians were made, not privately but publicly, and not directly to those who had need, but to the presiding officer in the general assembly. The presiding officer who received them solemnly dedicated them to God, and uttered over them, in the name of the assembly, words of thanksgiving and benediction." Of these gifts some were immediately distributed among the poor who were present, some were reserved by the president for distribution afterwards. When it came to pass, in course of time, that the president became a single permanent officer, he was still the person into whose hands the offerings were committed and who was primarily responsible for their distribution. In this way he became the center about which the whole system of Christian charity revolved and as this was the more important of his functions, the name attaching to it displaced all others and his title of bishop became permanent. "The Christian communities grew up . . . in the midst of poverty. They had a special message to the poor, and the poor naturally flowed into them. And the poverty in the midst of which they grew was intensified by the conditions of their existence. Some of their members were outcasts from

their homes: others had been compelled by the stern rules of Christian discipline to abandon employments which that discipline forbade. In times of persecution the confessors in prison had to be fed: those whose property had been confiscated had to be supported: those who had been sold into captivity had to be ransomed. Above all there were the widows and orphans. In such times as those we are now considering the poverty of widows and orphans is necessarily great, because men have in their life time a less than ordinary chance of saving, and after death their children have a less than ordinary chance in the social struggle." In addition to these there was the continual stream of strangers that kept passing from city to city along the great routes of commerce, East and West. Of these every one who bore the name of Christian had a claim to hospitality, because Christianity was a great fraternity and in this way made its strongest appeal to the poor and outcast. The name "brother" was the ordinary designation by which a Christian addressed his fellow-Christians. Driven from city to city by persecution, or wandering from country to country an outcast and refugee, wherever he went the Christian found a welcome and hospitality in the community of his fellow-Christians. It became the special duty of the bishop to care for these waifs as they were entitled to a share of the church funds. Human nature was then much as it is now and abuses quickly sprung up. There were "false brethren" even in the time of the Apostles: the shiftless and dishonest, who saw in the generosity of the Christians a way of living without labor. Abuses of all kinds increased the importance of the bishop. A regulation was passed that, while bodily necessities of travellers might still be relieved, no one should be admitted to hospitality in the fuller sense of the earlier times, unless he could show a certificate of membership from his own community. It was the bishop who gave this certificate and in a way stood sponsor for the good character of the member. He kept the church roll and knew every member of the flock. In addition to his furnishing aid to the poor, the widows and orphans, and the travelling brethren, all those

church officers who had insufficient means of their own to live and support those dependent upon them, were upon his roll and had to be provided for.

In addition to his duties as presiding officer and receiver and distributor of the church funds, the bishop had other important duties and responsibilities. As time went on and Christian communities increased in number and influence, disputes arose as to the interpretation of certain sayings of Jesus and teachings of the Apostles. Philosophy began to be the hand-maid of religion and metaphysics was brought in to explain the apparently simple teachings of the Bible. Opinions diverged more and more and danger of disruption threatened. The necessity for unity was pressing and apparent to all. The way to this unity was through a responsible episcopate, the control of one person. This one person was naturally the president. It, therefore, came to pass that the bishop became "the custodian of the rule of faith — in express distinction from the presbyters who are entrusted only with that which is relative to their main functions — the teachings of the maxims of Christian morality."

As a corollary of this control over the rules of faith came the right to punish infractions of these rules even to separating the offender from the church membership. Thus discipline passed into the hands of the bishop and it came to pass that one-man power was supreme. The bishop was the head of the church.

Early in the history of the Christian community at Jerusalem, "seven men of honest report" had been chosen at the instigation of the Apostles to relieve them of the burden of serving tables. It is a strange fact that no title whatever is given to these men. They are known simply as "the seven," while their work is a "ministry." But before the close of the Apostolic age a class of officers of which they were the prototype had arisen and was destined to become permanent. These were deacons. They were at first scarcely distinguishable from presbyters either in office or function. Early in the second century Justin Martyr (102-165) indicates that "the offerings were received and blessed by one officer, but that they were distributed among

the people by others. The name which those who distributed bore (deacons) was not only a common name for those who served at table, but seems to have been specially applied to those who at a religious festival distributed the meat of the sacrifice among the festival company; in this respect the deacons held a place which they have never lost; in all churches which have been conservative of ritual, those who assist the presiding officer at the Eucharist are known . . . as deacon and sub-deacon." In addition to the service of the deacons in the general assembly, they canvassed the community as "out-door relieving officers" and not only carried alms to those who were known to be in distress, but sought out others who deserved assistance and reported them to the church.

Not only were the deacons thus actively associated with the presbyters and bishops in the work of administration, but they were also united with them in matters of discipline. The bishop and his council of presbyters acted as superintendents and judges; the deacons were officers of inquiry and hunted up and reported the evidence. At first the relation between the presbyters and deacons was that of superior and subordinate officers; the former taught and directed; the latter performed the more menial duties. When the bishop emerged from the body of presbyters and stood in a position superior to them, the deacons were drawn into closer relationship to him and were in time looked upon as his assistants. They were gradually relieved of much of their out-door work by reason of the establishment of Christian hospitals, orphan asylums, and poor-houses; matters of discipline passed into the hands of the bishop, and they became "subordinate officers of public worship."

In case it became necessary through missionary zeal to establish a new center of Christian life in a city where there already existed an organized church, a presbyter of that church was put in charge of it and it thus remained under the jurisdiction and within the administration of the bishop. By this plan there was no multiplication of officers in a city and unity of administration and belief was maintained.

The growth of Christianity meant the increase in number

of such organized communities, one in each city with its bishop, presbyters, and deacons. About this parent church might cluster a considerable number of sub-organizations with a presbyter at the head of each, but all under the care of one bishop. This was the condition at the beginning of the fourth century. This completes a sketch of the organization of the early Christian church. It was simple and well suited to its purpose, easily expanding to meet the demands of growth, popular and sympathetic in its nature.

We have now traced the development of a body of church officers from small beginnings into a somewhat rigid and stable organization. It is now necessary to consider what the relation of this governing body was to the community which they represented, or, in other words, to determine the difference of function between these officers and the main body of laymen. This can best be determined by taking up in order the several functions which in later times were regarded as belonging especially to church officers, and to find out, if possible, how far they were looked upon as being wholly official in nature in the first two centuries. It is practically clear from both the Acts of the Apostles and St. Paul's Epistles that the "liberty of prophesying" prevailed in the Apostolic Age. It is also clear that this same liberty was enjoyed in the second century, as we have a fragment of a sermon preached by a layman at Rome preserved as the Second Epistle of Clement. In the second place the Apostolic Constitutions, written still later, contemplate preaching on the part of laymen: "Even if a teacher be a layman, still, if he be skilled in the word and reverent in habit, let him teach; for the scripture says, 'They shall be all taught of God.'" There is no positive evidence touching baptism, but it is certain that as late as Tertullian, when the tendency had already become strong to limit all ecclesiastical functions to church officers, a valid baptism could be performed by an ordinary member of the church, though it was considered irregular in case an officer might be secured. According to the Ignatian Epistles it is perfectly clear that the Christians in the cities to which they were addressed had held meetings at which no officers were present and that such

meetings had broken bread and celebrated the Eucharist. Ignatius reproves them for such actions, but in a very gentle spirit: "Break one bread; be careful to have only one Eucharist; let that be deemed a valid Eucharist which is under the superintendence of the bishop or of some one commissioned by him." It would appear from this that the celebration of the Eucharist without the presence of an officer was not considered invalid. But "to submit to authority" was deemed the better way. The earliest evidence which we possess on the matter of discipline is that of the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. In this the writer addresses the whole community and urges them to gather together and exercise the power of expulsion in the case of one who has been guilty of sin. This should be evidence enough, but both Clement and Polycarp furnish more. Clement asks that the officers of the church to whom he writes be obeyed and that they be not removed from their office without good and sufficient reason. Like Paul, he addresses himself to the entire community and does not question their right to remove an officer; he only urges moderation. The Epistle of Polycarp is complementary of that of Clement. He urges that a presbyter who has been removed from his office be restored. He also addresses himself to the community at large, and in this manner implies that the power of removal lies with that body.

It thus appears from an examination of the various church functions that the officers had no other conception of their office than that it existed for the general superintendence of the community and the general control of its affairs in order that all things might be done "decently and in order." "That which gave organization its importance was the increase in the size of the communities. The need of order thereby became more imperative: the work of administration had to be systematized and centralized: the officers who had control of order and administration came inevitably to have a higher relative status than they had had before. There were not only disputes, as we learnt from Clement of Rome, about the appointment of officers, but also an exaggeration of the place of order in the Christian economy. The gift of ruling, like Aaron's rod, seemed to swallow up the other

gifts." Tertullian held concerning the nature of office in the church, "that it did not confer any powers upon its holders which were not possessed by the other members of the community." He held that, "as an ordinary rule the president (bishop) had the power of admitting new members into the community, but if emergency arose, the power descended to other church officers and to laymen." So also, touching the Eucharist he says: "It is only from the hands of our presidents that we receive the Eucharist; but if there be an emergency, a layman may celebrate as well as a bishop." This, no doubt, expressed the early custom as well as Tertullian's ideal, but the exigencies of organization of necessity prevailed. In ecclesiastical as well as other human affairs the ideal gives way to the practicable. But the resistance was stubborn and it only gave way by slow degrees. "Little by little those members of the Christian churches who did not hold office were excluded from the performance of almost all ecclesiastical functions. At first a layman might not preach if a bishop were present; and then not if any church officer was present; and finally not at all. At first a layman brought his own gifts to the altar and communicated there: and then he could only — unless he were an emperor — stand outside the dais upon which the officers sat or stood: and finally, in the East, he might not even see the celebration of the "mysteries." At first the vote of laymen as well as of officers was taken in case of discipline, and so late as the fifth century the existence of the disciplinary rights of the laymen is shown by the enactment of an African council that a parish must not excommunicate its clergyman: but finally laymen had no place whatever in the ecclesiastical tribunals."

All the Christians of a community originally grouped themselves into one society which, following the Jewish custom, was known as the *Ecclesia* or church, the visible embodiment of the Kingdom of God upon earth. It was looked upon by the early Christians at Jerusalem as the nucleus or center of a renovated Israel, a community truly sanctified of God; a continuation in a purer form of the older Jewish institution. This being the case they simply added to their old usages connected with the Temple and the Law those of

the inner and purer fellowship inspired by Jesus who was looked upon by them as the Messiah. This necessarily led to some confusion in the minds of the more thoughtful of the converts as to the essentials and non-essentials, the real things of Christ's Kingdom and the older ceremonies of the Law that were rapidly becoming mere shadows. This is clearly set forth in the Epistle to the Hebrews. This unsettling of the older Jewish ideas is seen more quickly and clearly in the Christian societies which sprang up outside of Jerusalem and of Palestine where there "arose a new and more purely Christian type of *ecclesia*, the foster mother of 'the ecclesiae of the Gentiles' whose collective being constituted, along with the churches in Judea of national hue, the one *Ecclesia* of the living God, the elect first-fruits of the Father's redemptive purpose in his Son, Jesus the Christ."

The Jew was constitutionally, as a member of the Semitic race, preeminently religious. He carried with him into Christianity, a subtle attachment to the faith of his fathers. He still kept up his love for and recognition of the holy days and sacred festivals of his fathers. His attachment to the temple remained vital even after the ascension of the Lord. Jesus himself had given to them an example of respect and reverence for this holy place. Thus it was they continued to frequent the synagogues and to observe the festivals appointed in the law. They kept the Sabbath on Saturday according to the commandment of Moses. They went like devout Jews to attend the service of worship in the temple; they paid their tithes and performed all the accustomed rites of the ceremonial Law.

Fellowship in the sacred society of the *Ecclesia* was in a certain human and tangible way salvation. It implied also the favor and fellowship of the heavenly Father through his Son, Jesus Christ. Thus it was a two-fold salvation which applied both here and hereafter. This phase is well illustrated by Bartlet by tracing the course of an individual experience: "Imagine," he says, "a Jewish youth sent like Saul of Tarsus to Jerusalem, about 35 A. D. He has been trained under the Law, and has become alive to his need of

a salvation it can not bestow. He hears the gospel of repentance towards God and faith towards Jesus as his Messiah: he surrenders his heart to the message and declares his faith to some disciple. He is welcomed as already a brother in the Lord; for 'no man can call Jesus Lord' with a sincere heart, 'but by the Holy Spirit.' But full recognition by the holy society of Christ's elect waits upon his baptism. He accepts baptism, so formally 'washing away his sins, calling on Christ's name.' This rite gives him valid status in the eyes of his brethren and in his own eyes as a regular member of the Ecclesia, with all privileges and duties attaching thereto. Henceforth he is known as one justified, or in conscious favor with God—a 'saint' consecrated to his ends, the ends of the kingdom."

In this baptism which was the symbol of admission to this new community of believers, the main idea was consecration. This like all the sacred washings of antiquity had two aspects, purging *from* a sinful state and purification *into* a holy state in the future. Christian baptism placed special stress upon the latter aspect. This was indicated by the added expression "into Christ." This was the only requirement for membership. Once baptized in the name of Christ the Christian found himself a full member in good standing of a brotherhood whose "fellowship" was based on love and which far surpassed anything he had ever dreamed. The watchword of this society was not individual, but community interest. It was this temporary obliteration of the individual that produced the communism of which Luke speaks. The surrendering of goods into the common treasury was only a part of that surrendering of self into the "body of Christ." It was a part of the first surrendering of self into the "body of Christ." It was a part of the first outpouring of brotherly love among the followers of the risen Jesus and must be looked upon as a very natural expression of that intensity of feeling if not proper interpretation of the acts and intents of the Master himself. This love transfigured all human relations and raised them to a new power and sweetness. This was a stronger tie than that of blood and made the new convert "brother to all the younger fellow-members,

and son to all the elder." The new convert had a seat at the common table where all the brethren in the household of faith were welcomed with joy. It was here that, at the end of the meal, the house father reverently took the bread and the wine, as Jesus had done at the Last Supper, and distributed them among the company in remembrance of Him whose return was at first daily expected.

Both Jesus and the Apostles asserted the authority of the civil magistrate. They affirmed the divine origin of government and the binding force of human law whenever it did not clash with the commandments of God. The early church offered prayers for rulers even when they were inflicting persecution upon its members. It was only when magistrates issued commands to violate the law of God or to pay religious honors to the emperor that Christians disobeyed, in thus recognizing a higher power than that of the state.

Worship in the Apostolic age was a spontaneous expression of devout feeling. The order of worship was a free copy of that in the Jewish synagogues of the time. They gathered together on the Sabbath Day in their place of meeting about ten o'clock. (See Justin, Ch. X, page 171.) Some portion of the Old Testament was read with comments and practical application either by the reader or some member of the congregation. If, during the week, a letter from some apostle had arrived, it was read to the assembly. Prayer was then offered by the leader in the service or by some one of the worshippers, there being no restriction on voluntary service. The Lord's Prayer was repeated and benedictions and short forms of devotion were transferred from the service of the Jewish synagogue. Hymns were sung either by the whole congregation or by individuals who sometimes extemporized verses under the inspiration of the moment. No doubt the greater part of the hymns were from the psalter. A large portion of the time was spent in exhortations to the brethren to remain steadfast, and in hearing testimony; thus the early service was quite similar to a Methodist class-meeting of the present day.

The one article of faith required at the outset was that "Jesus is the Messiah." He who acknowledged him in this

character was baptized and received into full membership. There was no theology and no dogmas. These belong to a later age. "We should never forget," says Neander, "that Christianity did not deliver to men isolated speculative cognitions of God and divine things, nor furnish them with a ready-made doctrinal system in a form which was to stand; but that it announced facts of a communication of God to mankind, by which man was placed in an entirely new relation to his Creator, from the recognition and appropriation of which must result an entirely new directing and shaping of the religious consciousness, and whereby all that had been previously contained in this consciousness must undergo a modification. The fact of the redemption of sinful man through Christ constitutes the central point of Christianity." And yet while there was this lack of doctrine; while the Christian was not called upon to give any philosophic reason for his faith, or explain any of its peculiar tenets, he did believe that the Christian life was distinguished from the life of the unbeliever by its heavenly character. "When it came to the specific traits of character, or the specific duties which conformity to the divine will required, it is a notable fact that there was but comparatively little difference between the ethical principles of the Christians and the principles of the best men of the Pagan world. The general ideal of the Christian life was practically little else than conformity to the highest ethical standards of the world at large. As in Jerusalem the primitive disciples believed that they ought to distinguish themselves above their unconverted brethren by a stricter and more faithful observance of the law of their fathers, so in the Gentile world the Christians believed that they ought to distinguish themselves above their neighbors by their more perfect exhibition of those traits of character which were everywhere recognized as truly virtuous. Honesty, justice, truthfulness, purity, sobriety, peaceableness, were all emphasized by Christian and Pagan writers alike."

In considering the picture given of primitive church fellowship, the mind turns instinctively to comparisons with our own day. He who does this will find the contrast striking

and he will be apt to draw conclusions that will be altogether misleading. It is not entirely safe to argue that because something is old it is best; it is not quite safe to condemn the later usages simply because they are not as the earlier. This would be to "turn the Gospel into a second Levitical code, 'by making the Apostolic history into a set of authoritative precedents,' to be rigorously copied without regard to time and place." This is to forget that the Apostolic age itself passed from keeping the Jewish Sabbath, to the Lord's Day; that the gospel is a religion of the Spirit and not of the letter. Spontaneous simplicity was the characteristic of the age, and Christian institutions wisely adapted themselves to their environments.

CHAPTER XII

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

BEHIND all written documents on Christianity lies the oral message of Jesus Christ. He wrote nothing, but simply followed the long established custom of Jewish teachers who never wrote down what they had to give upon the interpretation of the Law and the Prophets, but trusted to their pupils to keep the gist of their teachings ever fresh in their memories. The Gospel, thus handed down in oral form, was preached by the disciples and evangelists long years before men thought of committing to writing what they had received from the lips of Jesus. So had "the traditions of the elders" been handed down for centuries. Still another reason may be here given that has been cited elsewhere. It was the expectation of the early Christians that the Lord would return within the lifetime of some of the eyewitnesses of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, and therefore, to commit to writing what he had said and taught seemed a waste of time which could better be spent in evangelistic labor.

It became a problem then to know how and where this oral tradition began to pass into written form. Doubtless this movement set in when the early witnesses began to pass away and the second coming of the Lord moved forward to a more distant future. Historical criticism has been active for more than a hundred years in the study and interpretation of this vital problem. Steady advancement has been made until, by the work of Holtzman, it has finally been established to the satisfaction of all scholars that the Gospel of Mark and the Logia have been used in the compilation of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. Holtzman gives 70, as the date for the Gospel of Mark and 90-94 A. D. for Matthew and Luke.

The historical books of the New Testament are all anonymous, as history was regarded as a common possession of interest to all and its sources known to all. But when the sources of oral tradition began to fail and written gospels of varying content began to appear and were used in the churches, the Christian teacher found it expedient to specify the manuscript from which he was reading as that "according to" a certain compiler, as Mark, Peter, or Andrew. Previous to the year 175 A. D. citations are made from "the Gospel." This was the title given by Marcion to his compilation. After 175, references are given in gradually increasing numbers, to "the Gospel according to a certain community, as the Hebrews, or the Egyptians." In the case of the Gospel of Mark the "according to" implies authorship, but in the document itself there is no mention of any author and the name of Mark was traditionally added more than a hundred years afterwards.

In Wright's Synopsis the first division includes all of Mark. Upon the left hand is placed the coincident material of Matthew arranged in such a manner as to parallel Mark from beginning to end, but re-arranging the order slightly. On the right hand is placed the coincident material of Luke without changing the order. The arrangement shows an almost complete verbal agreement of both Matthew and Luke with Mark. The order also is practically the same. Thus Matthew and Luke each reproduces the Gospel of Mark with but slight variation. A further examination proves that of the material found in Matthew and Luke, not contained in Mark, six-sevenths of that in Matthew is paralleled in Luke with a very close verbal identity, thus showing that they both drew their material from some one written source.

If now we turn back to the sources, it will appear that Matthew depends upon Mark for all narrative material. Of 103 narratives which occur in Mark, Matthew contains all but five, and parallels three of these. Of narrative material beyond what has been taken from the Gospel of Mark, Matthew has nothing save the infancy chapters. Luke has depended upon Mark to about the same degree as has Mat-

them, leaving out some of the Marcan material but adhering to the sequence of the narrative with absolute fidelity. Thus the synoptic problem, after many years of careful investigation has finally been solved. The Gospel of Mark is the oldest of the Synoptic Gospels and is the source from which Matthew and Luke obtained their narrative material and their order of sequence. Mark is, therefore, "the very spinal column of the entire Gospel tradition," and had it not been for Peter whose work Mark reported, we would really know nothing about the life and work of Jesus. (See Peter, chapter iv.)

Although Mark formed such an important part of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, still there are valuable portions that come from some other source or sources. The extent of the older source that lies back of the Synoptic Gospels and constitutes one of the two chief sources of Matthew and Luke is still a question of debate. Papias seems to furnish us the key to this problem, for, following his description of the work of Mark, he adds: "Now Matthew composed the sayings of the Lord in the Hebrew (Aramaic) language and everyone interpreted them as he was able." This Matthew was doubtless the disciple of Jesus that "sat at the receipt of customs." These *logia* accord so well in nature with the teaching material common to Matthew and Luke that it is reasonably certain they are identical. But Holtzman has made it certain that the source from which Matthew and Luke drew was not the Aramaic version of the Apostle Mark, but a Greek translation of it. In addition to the sayings of Jesus this early source had the account of the work of John the Baptist, the baptism and temptation of Jesus, the story of the healing of the centurion's servant, and the feeding of the multitude, together with some few other things omitted by Mark.

The more conservative critics for a time identified the Aramaic sayings of Jesus mentioned by Papias with our Gospel of Matthew, but this view was rendered untenable by the artificial arrangement of the Gospel of Matthew and the internal evidence of the work of numerous editors and a late date. The name which was associated with the *logia*,

may have carried over traditionally to our first Gospel, but since it was anonymous for more than a century, speculation upon this theme is profitless. The *logia* must have been written just prior to the departure of the Apostle Matthew from Jerusalem at the time of the Siege in 66-67 A. D. This makes it some years earlier than Mark and places it "at the very foundation of gospel-writing in general and of the growth of our gospel in particular."

We have now reached an explanation of the phenomena presented in the Synoptic Gospels, which is as follows: (1) A compilation of *Logia* by the Apostle Matthew, translated from the original Aramaic into Greek and early current in many shorter and longer forms, and (2) the biography of Mark constitute the foundation of the Gospel tradition of later times and two of the most important sources of both Matthew and Luke.

Having given a brief sketch of the gospel sources in their written form, we may now consider the Gospels themselves with something of intelligence. "The Gospel of Mark is preeminently the narrative Gospel," as has been previously shown. It is logically divided by the nature of the subject into three parts:

- I Jesus' Work in Galilee, cc. i, 14-vii, 23.
Beginning of his work of teaching; growth of opposition of the Pharisees; calling of the Twelve; teaching by parables; confirmation of His authority by miracles; fate of John the Baptist; miracles illustrating power over nature; conflict with the Scribes and Pharisees.
- II Jesus in Retirement with His Disciples, cc. vii, 24-x, 52.
Miracles of healing; revelation of His approaching death; honor through service; the spirit of renunciation; the reward in God's kingdom; healing the blind beggar at Jericho.
- III The closing scenes at Jerusalem, cc. xi, 1-xvi, 8.
Assertion of authority given Him by God; Jesus' teaching in the temple; warning of the judgment to come; events leading to the betrayal; Peter's denial;

Jesus' trial and crucifixion; burial and the empty tomb; epilogue.

This outline will aid the reader in tracing the dependence of Matthew and Luke upon Mark. Of all the gospels Mark is the most abrupt and vivid, reproducing the characteristics of Peter to a remarkable degree. It is rapid in its movement and gives the impression of strength and virility. The words are chosen because of their power and fitness to portray action. It enters into detail and thus gives color to the incidents recited. Mark contains very few involved sentences. Its simplicity and clearness make it yield easily to translation into English without losing its original force. It is preeminently the gospel of the common people, uncultured, but close to the heart of things. In this gospel Jesus appears before our eyes as a tireless worker, devoted to his task of uplifting fallen humanity, and giving to discouraged and sinful men a new object in life. He loves little children, and even rich young men as well as those who are wandering like lost sheep without a shepherd. He is acquainted with sorrow and grief, but he is also joyous, engaging in the feasts and holiday occasions of the people. It is Mark that enables us to catch a glimpse of the face of Jesus and thus to understand why "he drew all men to himself." The aim of the Gospel of Mark was not merely an historical record, but rather to provide a means for the guidance and use of early Christians and missionaries as they went to the heathen nations proclaiming Jesus. It is universal in its scope with almost nothing of Judaism in its contents. Its aim was that of Peter, to lead to a faith in Jesus by showing how "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and power and how he went about doing good and curing all oppressed of the devil; for God was with him."

The Gospel of Matthew has been called by a distinguished German critic "the most important book ever written." Whether this sweeping statement be true or not, certain it is that the church of the first century considered it the most popular of all the gospels and made use of it more than any other. Its contents are divided into five main divisions:

- I Introduction, i-iv, 2.
Birth and childhood of Jesus; the work of John the Baptist; baptism and temptation of Jesus.
- II The Work of Jesus in Galilee, iv, 18-xiii, 58.
Teachings of Jesus; His miracles; call and mission of the Twelve; effects of his work upon the people and upon the Pharisees; effect of his work on his own methods.
- III The Crisis and Rejection in Galilee and the Founding of the Church, xiv-xviii.
- IV Active work in Perea and Jerusalem, xix-xxv.
- V Passion and Resurrection, xxvi-xxviii.

Matthew's Gospel is arranged upon the same general plan as that of Mark but shows a tendency to arrange material in an artificial scheme of groups of ten. The body of Jesus' teaching is massed in the Sermon on the Mount in a logical classification without regard to chronology. The main purpose of Matthew is to represent Jesus as the great Teacher, rather than as a Healer and Friend, as in Mark. Matthew is Jewish in the extreme. It contains upwards of forty quotations from the Old Testament and seems to have ever in mind the desire to demonstrate that Jesus and his work were the fulfillment of the messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. The author wrote specially for Jewish Christians. While he made use of almost all of Mark, the passages therein which placed emphasis upon the humanity of Jesus are judiciously omitted and the miraculous power which demonstrates the messiahship is correspondingly emphasized. The Gospel contains much evidence of the activity of editors and the lateness of its composition in its final form. The purpose of the writer seems to have been "to present the teachings of Jesus fully and systematically in order to provide for the use of converts and the instruction of the young a practical manual of Christian faith and conduct."

The last of the Synoptic Gospels is the most perfect in form. Its general plan is the same as that of Mark. It is broken into six divisions as follows:

- I Introduction; covering the birth and childhood of Jesus and the work of John the Baptist, i-iii.
- II The Beginnings of Jesus' Work, iv-vi.
- III The Height of Jesus' Activity in Galilee, viii-ix, 50.
- IV Journey to Jerusalem and incidents and teachings on the way, ix, 51-xix, 27.
- V Work at Jerusalem, xix, 28-xxi, 38.
- VI The Passion and the Resurrection, xxii-xxiv.

Luke follows Mark but adds, from some other source, the story of the birth and boyhood of Jesus. He adds several parables to those given by Mark and re-arranges the material gathered from Mark and the *logia* in such a manner as to provide a more finished historical picture. In fact it is apparent to any careful reader that the author of this gospel was the master of a finished literary form. The sentences are well balanced and the vocabulary is large and well chosen, producing an easy flowing, crisp, and forceful style in every way admirable. Like Paul he is fond of striking contrasts. These everywhere abound, for example, between "light and darkness, the rich and the poor, God and Satan," etc. Women are prominent in the gospel and children frequently appear. But more than anything else the Gospel of Luke is the Gospel of repentance. The poor and afflicted are everywhere present calling forth compassion and sympathy. Faith is the watchword and forgiveness the characteristic note of this gospel. The author seems to condemn riches in themselves and to have all his interest and sympathy enlisted on the side of "God's poor." Jesus' love for the poor and needy and oppressed is brought out in this gospel as in no other, and for this reason the Gospel of Luke is most valuable in giving emphasis to "those broad social principles which give the teachings of Jesus their pre-eminent value in this modern age."

The author of the Gospel of Luke has stated in his introduction the motive that caused him to write: "Inasmuch as many have undertaken to write a systematic history of those things which are a matter of conviction among us; even as they were transmitted to us by those who were eye wit-

nesses, and ministers of the word from the beginning, I also determined, as I have accurately investigated all things from the very first, to write you, most excellent Theophilus, in order that you might be able to know the truth concerning the affairs of which you have been instructed." The aim of the author, as here stated, is well borne out in the contents of the gospel. It is indeed a systematic and complete statement of the life and teachings of Jesus by a person singularly well equipped by nature and study for the self-imposed task.

The work entitled "Acts of the Apostles" may well be considered a second volume of gospel history by Luke, the friend and companion of Paul, thus completing the historical books of the New Testament. The reference, in the preface to the book of Acts, to the former treatise clearly shows that it was the author's purpose to write a continuation of this work and to trace the victorious progress of the new faith from its home in Jerusalem to the capital city of the Roman empire. The style and vocabulary in this second volume are the same as that in the first, and here too the work is nameless. The purpose is not merely historical but apologetic and aims to furnish a sweeping justification of Christianity as against all Jewish criticism and at the same time to win a favorable reception for it at Rome and from the Roman officials throughout the empire.

The early church tradition made Luke the companion of Paul the author of both the Third Gospel and the book of Acts. For this there is no evidence whatsoever, but it is only fair to say that there is no evidence against it, and modern critical scholarship pretty generally accepts the verdict of antiquity and recognizes Luke as the author. Of Luke very little is known and that little does not furnish much help in settling the question of authorship. It is commonly stated that he was a Greek and a convert of Paul, but the native language of the author of the third Gospel must certainly have been Aramaic and it is hard to believe that a Greek could have had the intimate acquaintance with the customs and laws of the Jews that this author possessed. If, as some claim, he was born of a Jewish mother in Antioch of Syria, and received an education in both Ara-

maic and Greek, this difficulty would be removed. He accompanied Paul on most of his evangelistic journeys and seems to have aided him in his work of converting the Gentiles. Acts indicates that in company with Paul he spent some time as a guest of Philip the Evangelist at his home in Caesarea. At Jerusalem he had opportunity to form the acquaintance of James the brother of Jesus as well as many others of the disciples of Jesus. He was also acquainted with John, Mark, Barnabas, and Silas. He must have known Peter and probably all the other great teachers of the Apostolic Age. He had the opportunity of gathering information in many and varied ways and he was possessed of broad and liberal culture to make use of his opportunities to the utmost.

The date of the book of Acts, according to its introduction, was later than that of the Third Gospel and must have been near the end of the century. The book in its present form could scarcely have been written before 90 A. D., and was probably five years later than this.

The phenomena of Acts are entirely similar to those of Luke. Written sources were made use of throughout the entire book. Professor Torrey has shown "that Acts, cc. i, 4-xv, 25, is simply Luke's translation of an older Aramaic source, or sources. This accounts for many of the disagreements; as for instance, the three accounts of Paul's conversion, which Luke puts into the mouth of Paul, each differing in details from the others. Luke seems to have given more attention to his style, than to the verification of his statements. Again there is an incompleteness in some of the narratives. For example, in chapter twelve, James the brother of Jesus, is suddenly introduced as the leader of the Christian community at Jerusalem without any account of his conversion or explanation of how he obtained the bishopric. These and many other incidents prove very conclusively that Luke had before him several written sources, some of which went back to the earliest days of Christianity. In addition to these earlier sources, there are some narratives given that seem to rest upon later and secondary sources. As an example of this we may cite the account of

the ascension in chapter one, verses one to twelve. In Luke's Gospel the ascension of Jesus takes place immediately upon his arising from the grave. But in the account given in Acts, the ascension does not take place for forty days. These two accounts given by Luke add greatly to the confusion already existing concerning the records of the Resurrection. Why did Luke give the two accounts? The answer must probably be that he simply quoted the account in Acts from some later Aramaic source.

Much more can be said of the second half of Acts as to its historic authenticity. It seems to have a sound historical basis. The writer shows familiarity with his facts and a certainty of touch that belongs to a thorough acquaintance with the events which he is recording. The reason for this added confidence is seen upon examination of the book itself. No longer does Luke translate from old Aramaic sources but he is himself a witness of what he records. A journal of travel was evidently kept by him in which he jotted down with painstaking precision the geographic, political, social and religious incidents of the long journeys which he made in company with Paul. Subsequently he reduced these notes to a finished narrative. Thus from at least three sources have been compiled the Acts of the Apostles, an historical document of exceeding great value, though faulty in many respects.

CHAPTER XIII

FORMATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CANON

“ALL beginnings are difficult,” say the Germans. This is surely true touching the authorized books of the New Testament. At first we can merely guess at their existence by reason of traces found in the writings of other men, as Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, or Polycarp of Smyrna. As time passes direct quotations are made and the name of the author given. Later they are given peculiar authority and that authority is defined by the Apostolic origin, as in Tertullian. But this process has been a very gradual one, extending through nearly two-hundred years. In this matter the church took very tardy action and then only when forced by circumstances. The third century was well under way before the sifting and classifying process was completed and the most important writings of the New Testament hunted out and established. It is through the channel of the Early Fathers that we are enabled to date with reasonable certainty the stages of the process by which the New Testament writings came to be raised to the dignity and authority of “Sacred Scripture,” on a level with the Old Testament writings. Down to the rebellion of Bar Cochba, in 135, the testimony of the Apostolic Fathers is of a negative nature, but conclusive. There is no authoritative standard for any writings outside of those recognized by the Synagogue. There is no New Testament sacred literature and nothing of authority save *the oral teachings of Jesus* as a living tradition, expounded by the Apostles and their official successors in the churches. In the post-Apostolic age the term “Scripture” means simply the Old Testament and nothing else, no matter whether the term occurs in the New Testament writings or in those of the Apostolic Fathers. To each alike this is “the word of God,” “in-

spired by the Holy Ghost," "oracles of God" that can not be broken, "oracles of the teaching of God . . . which are true, which were given through the Holy Ghost wherein nothing unrighteous or counterfeit is written." This doctrine of inspiration thus stated by Clemens Romanus was taken from the Jewish rabbis by Paul and the Fathers and by them carried over to the church. "The difference between the synagogue and the church is simply that whereas the former defers authoritative interpretation to the coming of the 'Prophet like unto Moses' who 'will tell them all things,' the latter rejoices in the possession not only of the complete and perfect interpretation, but of a present 'unction from the Holy One' giving absolute understanding of all things. The church has thus a three-fold source of divine authority. (I) It is to 'remember the words, which were spoken before by the holy prophets; (II) the commandment of the Lord and Savior through the Apostles'; and (III) last but by no means least, it has 'the prophetic spirit.' For down to the end of this period the claim of present inspiration is anything but a stereotyped form." The gift of inspiration was claimed by nearly all the writers of the period. Clemens Romanus says: "Obey . . . the things written by us through the Holy Spirit, the words spoken by Him (God) through us." This claim of inspiration by the early writers and evangelists for what they wrote and spoke made it difficult for the church to draw any line of demarkation between the various writings purporting to be by "commandment of the Lord through the Apostles." It was still more difficult to limit "the prophetic Spirit," and to say that certain revelations should be accepted as divine and others rejected and their use forbidden in the churches.

He who reads the early fathers for the first time will be surprised at the lack of all references to specific gospels or epistles in their writings. They make many quotations from the sayings or works of the Lord without citing any authority whatever. The patient student may be able to find these passages in the pages of Matthew or Luke or Mark. Quite frequently he will find that the quotation is inexact or taken from some non-canonical source. The writer has gone on

the supposition that those who read his pages will know whether his statement is correct. Papias states that he preferred oral tradition to any written record when preparing his "interpretation of the sayings of the Lord," yet we are profoundly indebted to him for giving us the tradition regarding the origin of both Mark and Matthew. Justin Martyr tells us that the memorabilia of the Lord called Gospels are read in the churches on Sunday. He makes specific mention of the "Memorabilia of Peter" (Mark). He makes continual use of the Old Testament prophets, but use of Matthew, Mark, and possibly, Luke can be traced. Theophilus of Antioch, the fifth successor of Ignatius (181-190), is the first extant writer to cite a Gospel by name, quoting John i, 1, as from "John, one of those who were vessels of the Spirit."

In the age of Trajan (98-) many secondary gospels appeared, most of them of Gnostic origin; some of them heretical while others contained authentic teachings of Jesus mixed up with fanciful memorabilia. This brought it home to the church that it had become necessary to establish some authority for testing evangelic tradition. In Apocalypse as in Gospel, a limitation had become necessary, doubtless brought about by the extravagant claims of Montanism for its prophetic revelations.

Touching epistles, action was similar to that given above, but somewhat slower. Paul himself placed some restrictions upon the reading of his epistles, as in I Thessalonians v, 27, he says, "I charge you by the Lord that this epistle be read to all *the holy brethren*," thus limiting it to the thoroughly orthodox and righteous. In the second century, churches took up the custom of public reading of the epistles of Paul "for edification." They did not at first limit themselves to the epistles of Paul but read others that did not belong to the Apostolic Age. This was usually confined to the reading of such letters as were addressed to them personally, but even this limitation did not stand as the first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians was read as Scripture for many years. Justin Martyr (155) corroborates the statement already quoted from Papias regarding Mark and

Matthew to the effect that "the memorabilia of the Lord called 'gospels' were written by Apostles and their companions." With these exceptions we have no direct reference in early times to the authorship of the New Testament writings. Papias' own life-time covers the period of change from "the living and abiding voice," to written records. Before his death nearly all the writings now contained in the canon were known and yet no weight was attached to authorship. The epistle to the Hebrews was un-Apostolic and yet it was quoted oftener than were the letters of Paul. Tertullian, who wrote nearly one hundred years later, makes an excuse for himself for citing from Hebrews on the ground that, "although not Apostolic," it was written by Barnabas, "a companion of Apostles," who had been referred to by Paul. This same writer lays down the following principles for guidance. "First, that the Evangelic Instrument has Apostles for its authors, on whom this charge of publishing the gospel was imposed by the Lord himself; (2) that if it includes the writings of Apostolic men also, still they were not alone, but wrote with the help of Apostles, and after the teaching of Apostles."

We have now, in the time of Tertullian, reached the *full-fledged theory of Apostolicity*. The growth of this theory must now be traced.

The year 140 A. D. is a date of vital importance in the history of the development of the New Testament canon for it marks the first attempt to frame a canon of New Testament Scripture. This was made by Marcion when he separated from the church at Rome and founded beyond the Tiber what he claimed to be a true Christian church freed from Judaism (for Marcion and his church see ch. x). For this church he prepared what we may call the first New Testament canon which consisted of the Gospel of Luke and two letters of Paul. He considered Luke's the only authentic Gospel. This he expurgated of all references to the Old Testament as "Jewish interpolations." Paul was to Marcion the only "Apostle." He was bold enough to repudiate the Old Testament "Scripture" and take the teachings of Jesus as he understood them as the only guide. What Mar-

cion, outside the pale of the church, did, was also done some years earlier by no less a person than Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch. The Docetic heresy had arisen in the churches of Asia and against this Ignatius contended with fiery energy. However, he made no appeal to Scripture, but rather to the utterance which he had himself made by divine inspiration: "I cried with a loud voice, with God's own voice, Give ye heed to the bishops and the presbytery and the deacons." But in this matter Ignatius met with considerable opposition from the more conservative element in the church who were wont to dispute his interpretations of scripture, saying: "If I find it not in the charters, (the Old Testament) I believe it not in the Gospel. And when I said to them, It is written, they answered me, That is just the question." His final answer was, "My charter is Jesus Christ." Ignatius thus appealed to the Gospel as the source of authority and so passed by scripture as did Marcion but with a different motive. The need on the part of the growing church for some written standard of divine revelation besides the Old Testament is seen in Pseudo-Barnabas, a writer of Alexandria and contemporaneous with Marcion. The standard of Barnabas is still "Scripture" but the interpretation of it was first revealed by Christ. Barnabas interprets the Old Testament in the allegorical sense, thus relieving it of Marcion's just criticism, and holds that the Jews were led to a literal interpretation of it by the sophistry of "an evil angel." He gives "the new Law of Christ" as that which is "free from any yoke of restraint." This is set forth by him in the language of the Didache as has been recently demonstrated, though for centuries the source of the teaching was unknown.

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (131-166) makes the next stage in the development of the canon. This writing recognizes the supreme authority of the Lord Jesus, but it differs exceedingly from the simple exhortation of Clement to "remember the words of the Lord Jesus how he said," etc. Here the direction is to "*do as ye find it* in the Gospel of our Lord." A written source has now taken the place of general tradition. That source from the excerpts taken is known as our Matthew. "By 'the ways of the Lord' as known

through oral and written tradition, even those who speak in the spirit are to be discerned as true and false prophets."

By the year 150 A. D. there had arisen a great number of writings of secondary importance, many of them heretical in tendency. From these there now emerged Four Gospels that quickly took rank in a class by themselves. Matthew continued for many years to be the written Gospel used in the churches of Syria. But there were many and widely differing writings which claimed to be "the Gospel according to Matthew," and the church was finally compelled to acknowledge that the work of the Apostle in its original form was no longer in existence. Next to Matthew in popularity came the Gospel of Luke, and of Mark, in the order named; then came after quite an interval, the Gospel of John, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Gospel of Peter, etc. But we are in possession of a thoroughly reliable statement of the process of elimination from Papias, who himself had lived through the period of change from Clement to Justin; from mere memoriter combinations and citations of any and all sources for the teaching of the Lord, to "the memoirs written by apostles and the companions of apostles," publicly read in the churches. There is a fragment of Papias' *Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord* that states that "some of those brought to life by Jesus lived until the time of Hadrian." This fixes a date for the work as late as Justin (145-160). Marcion was a contemporary of Papias and a native of his neighborhood (Hieropolis in Phrygia). It would, therefore, seem certain that Papias was acquainted with the Gospel of Luke as it had been widely advertised in the churches by being made a part of Marcion's canon. Holtzman claims that Papias made use of Luke's introduction as a model for his own preface. He was also, without doubt, acquainted with our Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of John as well, for the "Reliques of the Elders," cited by Irenaeus, and recognized as taken from the work of Papias, seem to make this clear enough. Eusebius says that Papias made use of "testimonies from the first Epistle of John and from that of Peter likewise." But after further search Eusebius has nothing to report touching either Luke

or John being made use of by Papias. This "silence" in the preface of Papias' work, wherein he gave his authorities, both oral and written, can scarcely be accounted for upon any other basis than that he did not place them in the same category with the two which he described and defended as Apostolic. This is what he said:

"But I will not scruple also to give a place for you along with my interpretations to everything that I learnt carefully and remembered carefully in time past from the elders, guaranteeing its truth. For unlike the many, I did not take pleasure in those who have so very much to say; but in those who teach the truth; nor in those who relate alien commandments; but in those who record such as were given from the Lord to the Faith and who are sprung from the truth itself. If, then, any one came who had been a follower of the Elders, I would question him about the words of the Elders,—what (by the report of the Elders) Andrew or what Peter had said, or what had been said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the disciples of the Lord, and what things Aristion and the Elder John the disciples of these were saying. For I did not think I could get so much profit from the contents of books, as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice."

While Papias looked with considerable contempt upon books as compared to oral tradition, he certainly changed his mind when he came to the two sources touching which he took pains to obtain the testimony of "the Presbyter (John)." He evidently must have placed more credence in what he believed to be the writing of the Apostle Matthew himself, than what "others reported that he said." Here is the tradition of Papias:

"This also the Presbyter said: Mark who had been the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not, indeed, in order, everything that he remembered, whether of things said or things done by Christ. For he was neither a hearer or a follower of the Lord, but afterwards, as I said, of Peter, who adapted his instructions to requirements, and had no design of giving a connected account of the Lord's

oracles. So then Mark made no error when he thus wrote down some things as he remembered them; for he made it his one care not to omit anything that he heard, or to set down false statements therein."

In another place, perhaps on the same page as the above, Papias wrote:

"So then, Matthew composed the oracles (*logia*) in the Hebrew (Aramaic) language, and each interpreted them as he could to suit himself."

At the time of Papias the work of the Apostle Matthew, was no longer extant. It had already been superseded by our Matthew and passed out of the use and the memory of the church in general. The history of the *logia* has been given in another place (see ch. ix). Here it is only necessary to state that Papias looked upon this work as Apostolic, and placed it with Mark, thus forming a class by themselves. He evidently looked upon the Greek Matthew as having been corrupted by absorbing elements not sanctioned by the Apostle. This is shown by the fact that he adopted from oral tradition an account of the death of Judas differing entirely from that of Matthew. He made use of the work of Aristion, of Luke, and of John, but evidently did not give to them full Apostolic sanction. Thus dependence upon tradition has gradually given way to books. Justin makes use of all four Gospels as directly or indirectly Apostolic.

Between 160, and 170 A. D., Tatian, a pupil of Justin, published his *Diatessaron*, or *Harmony of the Four Gospels*. This settled the question as to the rank and standing of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. This work of Tatian was for a long time lost but was recently discovered by Mrs. Lewis in a Syriac version and thus restored to the world. But New Testament writings are not yet given standing as "Scripture." Justin has as yet the same standard as did Clement of Rome, "Scripture"; and the "Teaching of the Lord." Thus he says: "We have been commanded by Christ himself to obey not the teachings of men, but those blessed precepts which were proclaimed by the blessed Prophets, and taught by himself." But the Apostolic is being separated from the un-Apostolic. Beyond "Scrip-

ture" and the Lord's Teaching Justin recognized but one writing as having a claim to authority. This was the "Revelation of John, one of the Apostles of Christ," being both "Apostolic and prophetic."

Justin and Tatian have brought us one step upon the road along which Irenaeus is now to guide us to a definite end,—the exclusive use of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John as the only historic Gospels. He adds a new phase, by claiming that *the language of the evangelist is inspired* and making of him nothing but the *penhand of God*. Thus he says: "The Holy Spirit through Matthew says, 'Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise, etc.' " Beyond the four Gospels Irenaeus recognized but one other writing sufficiently to give its tradition, namely, the Revelation of John. This he declares authentic on the authority of "those who saw John face to face." He tells us that "the Revelation was seen not long ago, but almost in our own generation, toward the end of the reign of Domitian." While he quotes from John and Peter as Epistles written by Apostles, he reserves the title "Scripture" for the Pastor of Hermas which he ranks in with the Evangelic Word and Revelation of John, as it is "prophetic." His tradition as to the Gospels is as follows: "Matthew, then published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the church in Rome. After their decease, Mark, the disciple and interpreter, of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing those things which Peter had preached; and Luke, the attendant of Paul, recorded in a book the Gospel which Paul had declared. Afterward John, the disciple of the Lord, who also reclined on his bosom, published his Gospel while staying at Ephesus in Asia."

Oral tradition has now ceased to influence the Gospels and their form has become fixed. The epistles, however, are still in a state of flux, as a goodly number, following the lead of Marcion, rejected the pastoral Epistles that were attributed to Paul. But in the course of a few years these objections were overcome and the whole body of Pauline writings were raised to the level of inspired Scripture along with the Gospels and the Revelation of John. A third division consisted

of Acts, I Peter, and John. These were almost universally accepted and read in the churches. Serious objections were made to Hebrews. This epistle was generally defended and accepted in the East but rather reluctantly rejected in the West. James was finally accepted but its author was identified with the Apostle, the son of Alphaeus. In like manner Jude was admitted. This left only II John and III John. These were not really considered Apostolic, but were finally accepted on the ground of affinity to John.

Thus the canon was finally formed to the satisfaction of the churches upon the basis of Apostolic origin, and used continuously in the churches. The final authority in settling the question was vested in the Apostolic churches—those founded by some one of the Apostles, whose officers could prove continuance from Apostolic times. The Canon of Muratori may be taken as the last step in evolution.

In 1740, L. A. Muratori discovered the earliest list of canonical books of the New Testament. It was contained in a manuscript of the eighth century. Its date is about 200. The list is without beginning and without end but begins with what appears to be an account of the Gospel of Mark;—“ . . . in some things, however, he participated, and has thus recorded them.”

The third book of the Gospel according to Luke, Luke compiled in his own name from report, the physician whom Paul took with him after the ascension of Christ, as it were for a travelling companion; however he did not himself see the Lord in the flesh, and hence begins his account with the birth of John as he was able to trace (matters) up.

Of the fourth of the Gospels (the author is) John, one of the disciples. At the instance of his fellow disciples and bishops he said, “Fast with me three days and whatever shall be revealed to each, let us relate it to one another.” The same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the Apostles, that John should write all in his own name, the rest revising . . . And, therefore, although varying ideas may be taught in the several books of the Evangelists, there is no difference in that which pertains to the faith of believers, since by one sovereign Spirit in all, are disclosed all things that relate

to the nativity (of Jesus), his passion, resurrection, intercourse with his disciples, and concerning his twofold advent, the first in humble guise, which has taken place, the second splendid with royal power, which is yet to be. . . . What wonder, then, if John in his epistle also speaking of his own authorship, so boldly advances each detail, saying, "What we have seen with our eyes, and have heard with our ears, and our hands have handled, these things we have written." For thus he professes himself not only an eye witness, but hearer, yea, and a writer as well, of all the wonders done by the Lord in their order.

"But the Acts of all the Apostles are written in a single book. Luke relates them admirably to Theophilus, confining himself to such as fell under his own notice, as he plainly shows by the omission of all reference either to the martyrdom of Peter or the journey of Paul from Rome to Spain.

"But the letters of Paul themselves make known to those who would know both what they are, and from what place, on what occasion they were sent. At considerable length, he wrote to the Corinthians first, forbidding schismatic divisions, then to the Galatians (forbidding) circumcision and to the Romans (expounding) the general tenor of the Scriptures, showing, however, that Christ is the essence of their teaching; to these epistles we must devote separate discussion; for the blessed Apostle Paul himself, following the example of his predecessor John wrote by name to seven churches only in this order: First to the Corinthians, second to the Ephesians, third to the Philippians, fourth to the Colossians, fifth to the Galatians, sixth to the Thessalonians, seventh to the Romans. True he wrote twice to the Corinthians and Thessalonians for their correction, but he shows thereby the unity of the universal church; for John also in the apocalypse, though he writes to seven churches only, yet speaks to all. He also writes one to Philemon, one to Titus, and two to Timothy, out of purest regard and affection, but these two are hallowed in the Catholic church for the arrangement of ecclesiastical discipline. Moreover there is in circulation an Epistle to the Laodiceans, another to the Alexandrians, forged under the name of Paul, looking to-

ward the heresy of Marcion, and several others which can not be received into the Catholic church, for gall should not be mixed with honey. However, the Epistle of Jude and two of John the above named, are received among Catholics. Also the Book of Wisdom written by the friends of Solomon in his honor.

"We receive, moreover, the Apocalypse of John, and Peter only, though some of our body will not have the latter read in the church. The Shepherd indeed was written quite recently in our own time in the city of Rome by Hermas, while his brother Pius occupied the seat of the Bishop of the church of Rome (130-155); wherefore the private reading of it is indeed commendable, but it can never be publicly read to the people in the church whether among the Prophets . . . or among the Apostles."

Thus we have finished the sketch of the formation of the Canon of the New Testament Writings as it appears in the time of Tertullian and Origen. It is not yet fully determined as to its outward limit, but with a fully established tradition as to the origin and nature of those received with the exception of James and second Peter. This tradition, as its history shows, is only in part historical, as the evidence is not at all conclusive. It is largely theoretical and inferential, with a very liberal element of legend. Its limitations have been established by evidence from the outside; its interpretation has largely been made in the same way. It is the province of the modern scholar and critic to analyze and interpret it mainly from internal evidence.

FIRST PERIOD

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF
CHRISTIANITY TO THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE

325 A. D.

BOOK III

CHRISTIANITY IN THE THIRD CENTURY

CHAPTER XIV

TERTULLIAN

FOR more than fifty years after the martyrdom of Justin the tendencies which characterized the church in his time continued to show their force with unabated zeal. The gnostic movement was still flourishing and the followers of Marcion winning disciples on all sides. The activity of gnostic sects called out into service as a matter of self-preservation, the ablest champions of the mother church. By the end of the second century the name of "Catholic" or "Universal" was becoming the designation of the visible close-knit body spreading throughout the Roman empire, and representing historic Christianity, as over against the more recent speculations of the gnostic sects. It placed emphasis upon the fact (supposed) that its officers had succeeded in regular order from the Apostles and so guaranteed the continuity of its faith, and it insisted upon testing the purity of doctrine by means of creeds. It gave its sanction to a collection of New Testament books which had been chosen with the greatest care and which it deemed authoritative. It also claimed that the "Successors to the Apostles" (the bishops) were the persons best fitted to interpret the meaning of these books. The church at this time seemingly never realized that this polity would create a close corporation and ultimately place in the hands of a few fallible and oftentimes ignorant men an authority more absolute than God himself had ever claimed. These characteristics tended very rapidly to bind Christianity with fixed forms of worship, doctrine and organization. It had all things, according to the admonition of Paul, "decent and in order," but it destroyed the free spirit which was at once the crown and glory of the Christianity of the first century. This movement culminated in producing "that compactly organized, rigid

form of this church which received the name of 'Old Catholic' at the hands of scholars, to distinguish it from the later Greek and Roman Catholic churches, which in so many ways resembled it." The church was being harnessed down with formalism both in creed and worship.

Conflicting opinions, however, made some creed necessary and a highly organized and compact government was the chief weapon of the church in its conflict with the empire. It was through this that it finally conquered. The only answer that the church made to gnostic reformers, who, like Marcion, claimed a more profound knowledge of Christianity, was that "their teachings were not contained in the writings of the Apostles and evangelists and had never been taught by the responsible officers of the churches that the Apostles founded (chiefly those of Antioch and Rome)." The position taken by the church in this dispute had results beyond its expectation. In the first place it emphasized the feeling that the bishops, who had become nearly universal by the middle of the second century, by reason of their position as heads of important churches were guardians of the faith handed down from the Apostles. In the second place it tremendously increased the prestige, "as fountains of pure doctrine," of those churches in which the Apostles themselves had labored. It was only natural that where the Apostles had taught, these men would know what their teachings had been and would be able to detect any error that crept in and keep the church in the way of truth. Of these Apostolic churches there was but one located in the west, that of Rome. Its position in the capital of the empire gave it prestige, and its numerous, wealthy, and enthusiastic congregation naturally bestowed upon it a leadership in all good works among the churches. In the latter part of the second century the leadership of the Roman church was recognized throughout Christendom and the champions of orthodoxy urged the necessity of agreement with Rome in doctrine, although they did not recognize any legislative authority as vested in the Roman church and certainly they did not concede the primacy of St. Peter. This belonged to a much later period. The church, generally, however, held that Christian truth

had been handed down from Rome since Paul and Peter had there taught and suffered.

The most conspicuous man among the conservative champions was Irenaeus who may well be called the ablest theologian of the second century. He was a native of Asia Minor, born near Smyrna about the year 140. He himself tells us that in his early youth he was a hearer of Polycarp who was martyred in 155, and who was a disciple of the Apostle John. We may well question his having really received much from Polycarp, owing to his extreme youth, but he doubtless represented and transmitted the Asia Minor type of theology of which the fourth Gospel and the Epistles of John are the highest productions. He was doubtless born of Christian parents as his early Christian training proves, but beyond this we know little. He was thoroughly educated in the Greek language and literature and gives us no evidence of having been hampered by reason of poverty. His family was at least well-to-do if not wealthy. While he received his education in his native country, his life work was far away among the people of Lyons in Gaul. It is not known when he went to this distant place or the circumstances which decided his choice of residence. A Greek colony was established in Lyons early in the second century and it was among them that a Christian church was first established, and it was perhaps to this community that Irenaeus went as a teacher. He became a presbyter of the church of Lyons and was sent to Rome as a messenger on some errand to the Bishop Eleutheros (177-192) and was absent at the time of the persecution of the churches of Lyons and Vienne, in 177 A. D. Upon his return he was made bishop to succeed Pothinus, who suffered martyrdom in the persecution. He was consecrated as bishop in 178 A. D. It would seem from this that the church at Lyons was without a bishop for a year. It was at Lyons toward the end of his bishopric (c. 190) that he wrote his chief work against heresies. Here for the first time we find the New Testament writings put upon a par with the Old Testament and given the same authority. He also gives full credence to the developing dogma of the Old Catholic church, and makes

“the tradition handed down in *churches of Apostolic foundation*,” the only *true and proper* interpreter of the Christian gospels. He never seems to have been conscious of the danger of such a doctrine, but makes use of it to the limit in his arguments against gnosticism. He had a very clear central theologic thought of the work of Jesus, and may truthfully be called the most original theologian since Paul. In his thought God made man in his own image and “created him immortal like unto himself.” But Adam sinned and by his own sinful act broke the union between man and God and so made all mankind subject to death. The purpose of God was thus defeated by the free act of man. Christ restored the interrupted work of God and made man once more immortal, himself becoming the head of a redeemed humanity. Irenæus is the first Christian writer to mention the baptism of infants. In Book II, 22, 4, he says: “For He came to save all through means of Himself — all I say who through Him are born again to God — infants and children, and boys, and youths, and old men.” There is no mistaking his meaning. He places all ages and conditions upon the same basis. St. Paul and the Apostolic age in general believed in the speedy second coming of Christ. Irenæus held similar views, but considered the time very near at hand when Christ would come and establish his kingdom over a redeemed earth. He thus turned backward to the millennial hope of Paul and the infant church. The reader of the obscure and difficult writings of Irenæus will discover therein a combination of two theological views: (1) The traditional theology of the early church as illustrated in his doctrine touching the second coming of Christ even to the final conversion of the Jewish nation and the establishment of the restored people in a gloriously rebuilt Jerusalem; (2) The new emphasis on creed, organization, and orderly succession,— ideas belonging to a slow and long protracted growth of the church. Irenæus may thus be considered as belonging to two epochs, vainly trying to make them appear as one. “While this was true of Irenæus, in most minds Christianity had passed entirely away from any anticipation of the millennium, and close-knit order, regular succession, and agreement with gen-

erally recognized creeds, were becoming the tests of the true church, rather than any confidence in the leadership of the spirit and the inspiration of 'spirit-filled' men which had marked the Apostolic age and persisted in an ever-weakening measure into the second century."

In the course of two hundred years Christianity had necessarily changed somewhat because conditions had changed. Churches now found members within their pale who stood in constant need of supervision, instruction and regular control. An enthusiasm for a life of holiness and separation from the world no longer appealed to the minds of all Christians. They were no longer looking with pleasure toward the end of the world. The old-time spontaneous enthusiasm so common to those who had been redeemed from heathenism was gone. In course of time it had given way to sober convictions and submissive assent. There were many now, perhaps the majority, of the members of the prominent churches, who were born of Christian parents and raised to maturity within the circle of the church. They knew none other than Christian associations. They did not become Christians. They *were* Christians. These persons could never feel that emotional love and fervor which characterized those who had been redeemed from heathenism. On the other hand, they could not abandon Christianity any more than they could abandon life. Social distinctions began to assert themselves among the members and ambitious seeking after office and preferment. Christianity now had representatives in every rank in life. Christians were found in the imperial palace, among the state officials, in the abodes of labor and the halls of learning, amongst slaves and free-men. There was an exceedingly practical question involved in this social problem and one that the church had to answer in some way. Were all these converted heathen to be left in the callings they followed before becoming Christians? To take a practical example; an Alexandrian butcher was converted to Christianity and was admitted to membership in the church. Was he to be permitted to continue at the butcher's trade, the only occupation he knew anything about, and in this manner support himself and family? If he were

compelled to give up his occupation, his family would be pauperized and dependent upon the church for support. Many claimed that he could not follow a heathen occupation and be a Christian, but the church decided that the man should stay at his trade but conduct it according to Christian principles, abstaining from furnishing the sacrifices for idol worship. This illustrates the policy of the church in general. Was the church to enter the open door of the empire and conform as much as possible to its social customs and arrangements? or should it remain as it was at first, "a society of religious devotees, separated entirely and shut out from the world by a strenuous religious discipline"? This was the great problem which was forced upon the church to solve. So long as it remained a small body looking forward to the immediate destruction of the world, such a problem could not exist. But this expectation had not been fulfilled and the church had ceased longer to look for it. The real leaders within the church, those with truly statesman-like qualities, decided upon a world-wide mission in a comprehensive sense. They proposed to enter the life of the empire and participate in all its activities, but re-shaping them according to the moral standards of Jesus. Of course it was but natural that as this process went on, some persons would see the danger of such a course and raise warning voices against it and hark back to the older views of exclusiveness and separation.

While the church was still struggling with the problem of adjustment to new conditions and was in danger of being dragged down into the waters of mystery-trafficking and magic, an elementary religious movement sprang into existence within the church that reacted against the beginning which Christianity had made in sharing the culture and life of the world. Immediately after the middle of the second century (157) Montanus made his appearance in Phrygia. He was probably born in Ardabanum, on the borders of Mysia, of old warrior stock, and not converted to Christianity until middle life. Prior to his conversion he was a priest of Cybele. He began to preach in his native country and his fame soon spread beyond the borders of Phrygia.

He deemed his mission to be that of a prophet, like those famous in Jewish history. He associated with himself two women who also claimed to be inspired or possessed of the prophetic spirit. These were Priscilla and Maximilla. According to these religious enthusiasts the promise of Christ as recorded in the Gospel of John (xvi, 13) was fulfilled in them: "However when the *Paraclete* is come, he will guide you into all truth; . . . and he will show you things to come." The Phrygian people were firm believers in visions and all similar preternatural possessions, and no claim of priestly gifts was too extravagant for them to believe. Apocalypses were their favorite gospels. Montanus affirmed the immediate approach of the end of the world, and declared that as a preparation for this catastrophe, all Christians should lead lives of peculiar asceticism. Paul had taught this same view and had recommended abstinence from marriage, for this same reason, but since his time the ascetic spirit had been steadily rising and Montanus went much farther than Paul. This may well be accounted for from the fact that he had previously been a priest of Cybele which religion enjoined upon her priesthood the most rigid asceticism. This he carried with him into his new religion and there found a field well fitted for its development. Montanus taught virginity as well-pleasing to God, condemned second marriages as unlawful, and greatly multiplied the number of fasts. Martyrdom was a necessary sacrifice which the Christian must undergo for the attainment of salvation in case the exigency was sufficient. "Therefore martyrdom was not to be avoided by flight, but rather, eagerly sought for as an honor to Christ. Penitence, in all its stages, must take place after sin, but a total lapse, by sacrificing to idols, excluded a person from restoration to the church, though not necessarily from divine forgiveness." These views were very popular and won a widespread following, not only in Phrygia and throughout Asia Minor, but in the western portions of the empire where their asceticism was specially approved. Their visions enwrapped the imagination and their rigor enthralled the minds of those who were of congenial temperament.

Such was the situation in the church when Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus began his activity as a writer on Christian themes. He was born in the ancient city of Carthage which was for so many years the dreaded rival of Rome, but now the greatest of Rome's subject cities in the west, in 160 or thereabout. He was the son of a Roman centurion in the service of the Roman Proconsul and was doubtless of pure Latin stock. Of a pagan household he received a scholarly education in the excellent schools of that flourishing capital of Roman North Africa. Carthage was one of the main seats of learning in the Roman empire. While at Antioch and Alexandria the language of the schools was Greek, at Carthage it was Latin. But he received a thorough training in Greek language and literature and wrote his first books in Greek. He followed the usual course of a Roman gentleman, and like Cicero, studied rhetoric, philosophy, and law, becoming very proficient in the latter study. He seems to have gone to Rome and spent some time in legal studies, but subsequently returned to his native city and took up the practice of law. He was of a passionate, fiery and intense nature,—a genuine child of the south. As a practicing advocate and rhetorician, he had spent some years in the city and joined in its dissolute life. When about forty years of age he was converted to the Christian faith and at once manifested a Puritan severity thoroughly in keeping with his passionate and fiery nature that could never brook any half measures. He was chosen a presbyter very shortly after his conversion but was never advanced beyond this grade, perhaps because of his arbitrary temper. He wrote continuously and it is chiefly through his writings that we know him. In 202 during the reign of Septimus Severus a wave of persecution swept over the North African church and in that trying time many Christians (mostly those who had been born and raised in the church) forsook their faith, under pressure to save their lives. It was in these times of danger that Montanists distinguished themselves by their enthusiasm and the cool courage with which they met death. They remained at their posts and almost without an exception right joyously "gave their final tes-

timony," while thousands of the Orthodox either ran away or denied Christ. Tertullian now became acquainted with them and was won over by their steadfastness in time of persecution and the asceticism which they taught and practiced. This so appealed to the ardent nature and enthusiastic temperament of Tertullian that, in 208, he separated from the "Old Catholic" church which he deemed corrupt and worldly, and united himself with the Montanists. This act on his part, no doubt, robbed him of the fame that would otherwise have been his. But here it must be said that Montanism cannot be classified as heretical. The prophetic claims of Montanus and his followers were scarcely more than the belief in the guidance of the Holy Spirit which had been universal in the churches of the apostolic age and which still is a part of the belief of most Christians, while his asceticism was Pauline and accepted with praise by the church of the sixth century.

The fame of Tertullian rests upon his work as a writer. As already stated, his first treatises were written in Greek. These have been lost. But the language of North Africa was Latin, and Latin was the language which he preferred from his long familiarity with it in the courts of law. He chose to write in Latin, therefore, and thus became "the father of church Latinity." He stamped upon ecclesiastical Latin the impress of his own thought and usage. His speech was often strained and far-fetched but never dull. He always filled his sentences with meaning but, being always an advocate, he was not always just to his opponents. Dr. Schaff says of his language: "It is terse, abrupt, laconic, sententious, nervous, figurative, full of hyperbole, sudden turns, legal technicalities, African provincialisms, or rather antiquated or vulgar Latinism. It abounds in Latinized Greek words and new expressions, in roughness, angles, and obscurities, sometimes like a grand volcanic eruption, belching precious stones and dross in strange confusion, or like the foaming torrent, tumbling over the precipice of rocks, and carrying all before it." For his opponents he had as little indulgence and regard as Martin Luther. "With the adroitness of a special pleader he entangles them in self-

contradictions . . . overwhelms them with arguments, sophisms, apothegms, and sarcasms. . . . His polemics everywhere leave marks of blood. It is a wonder that he was not killed by the heathens, or excommunicated by the Catholics." He was not always fair and not always self-consistent, but he was readable and effective. Writing at white heat his words burned as they went.

Tertullian's writings are naturally divided into three groups: first those written before the persecutions of Severus in 202 show no leaning toward Montanism; the second group, written between 202 and 207, show a strong leaning toward this sect and may be considered as transitional; the last group of writings was composed after his separation from the "Old Catholic" church and his going over to the Montanists. It is in this last period that he shows his power of invention to its fullest in his denunciation of what he believed to be a recreant church.

The literary range of Tertullian was far-reaching, embracing a great variety of themes. In his apologetics he defended Christianity against all heretics, but the most notable were against the gnosticism of Marcion and the monarchianism of Praxias. Along with the fiery zeal of the advocate there must have gone a large opportunity for such activity as he manifested, for Tertullian had too much Roman sense to speak to empty seats or write volumes to be placed upon the shelf. Such literature was coming into popularity, chiefly because Christians were becoming both numerous and wealthy according to Tertullian's own testimony which, though rhetorical, has a basis of truth. "We are but of yesterday, and we have filled every place among you,— cities, islands, fortresses, towns, market-places, even your soldiers' camps, tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum,— we have left you nothing but your temples." To the pro-consul, Scapula, he wrote, in 211, when persecution again broke out, "The more you mow us down, the more you make us grow. The blood of Christians is seed." Out of his Appeal to Scapula comes another wonderfully fine passage that reminds us of another fine statement from the lips of Theodoric the Gothic King: "It is a fundamental human right,

a privilege of nature, that every man should worship according to his own convictions. One man's religion neither helps nor harms another man. It is assuredly no part of religion to compel religion." This is more than a thousand years ahead of its time.

Tertullian was interested in all Christian themes, both speculative and practical, and upon all he had positive convictions and expressed those convictions in a most positive manner. He discussed at some length the soul, baptism, penance, patience, prayer, idolatry, and the resurrection. He exhorted his readers to modesty in apparel and conduct. He warned against the theater, second marriages or flight in times of persecution. In the discussion of these themes we are not interested in the question as to whether he wrote upon them before or after his acceptance of Monastic views, as they were not heretics, and what Tertullian says may be accepted as the usage of the church in the third century.

Turning to the speculative writings of Tertullian we find that he unsparingly condemned all schools of philosophy and claimed that Christianity should be kept free from all schemes of human thought as a "divine foolishness," superior to the deepest human wisdom. This is his answer to the philosophy of Marcion especially but it is also a direct contradiction of the teaching of Justin and Tatian, who placed great value upon Greek philosophy, especially that of Plato, and made use of Greek literature continually. His dictum, "With our faith we desire no further belief," would surely sound strange in the ears of those celebrated teachers of Alexandria, Pantaenus and Clement, who viewed philosophy as the handmaid of a true theology and sought to write these two conjoined in an intellectual explanation of Christian faith. A little later than Tertullian, Origen became the bright star in the ecclesiastical world and he was saturated with Greek philosophy. In the estimation of Tertullian Christ demanded from all a complete change of life. "Christ preached the new law and the new promise of the Kingdom of Heaven. This Christian inheritance is the sole possession of the orthodox church and 'heretics' have no right in the Scriptures, nor any share in the true Christian tradition."

He further makes appeal to the churches founded by the Apostles as "the depositaries and guardians of the truth." All truth is by this dictum contained in the Scriptures (Old and New) and their interpretation as given by the bishops of Apostolic foundation. Here only is the place to look for truth. "Seek until you have found, and believe what you have found." "Nothing farther is there for you to do but to hold fast to what you have believed." This principle makes it the prime duty of every Christian to accept without reservation the faith as it is transmitted to him by the church. This was a source of unbounded influence which the church exerted until the Reformation loosened its grasp.

In his idea of sin and the need of divine grace for man's redemption, Tertullian differs entirely from Justin Martyr. In this respect he is Pauline. To him Christianity is pre-eminently a "revelation of salvation." The doctrines of sin and grace were impressed by him on the Latin portion of Christendom to a degree never paralleled in the East. These profoundly influenced not only the Latin church but also the Reformation and have continued vital down to the present day. While Tertullian was thus conscious of sin he lays special stress upon *works* in his doctrine of salvation. He declares: "We are competitors for salvation in earning the favor of God; by public confession, by mortification of our flesh and spirit, we make satisfaction (payment) for our former sins." All these "means of salvation" flow chiefly from "confession, self-humiliation, and ascetic practices." Of course this is but a simple statement of the principle adopted by the church universally in a later day and followed by the Catholic church to the present time, as witness the *Frates Flagellantes*.

This sounds very little like Paul or Peter, or, indeed, any one else that we have thus far heard from, but it flowed in a direction that called for little or no protest until the whole system was challenged by the Reformation.

On the practical side, while Tertullian was enthusiastic and positive as ever, he showed a vast amount of practical common sense. From the theoretical side of Christianity he turned to the practical question of baptism. He looked

upon this rite as a means of forgiveness of sins. "It is," he says, "by this divinely instituted rite that we are set free into eternal life." In describing usage that had grown up among Christians without any Scriptural authority, he describes baptism as follows: "When we are going to enter the water, and a little before, in the church and under the hand of the chief minister, we solemnly profess that we disown the devil and his pomp and his angels. Hereupon we are thrice immersed, making a somewhat ampler pledge than the Lord appointed in the Gospel. Then when we have been acknowledged as children of the church, we taste first of all a mixture of milk and honey, and from that day we refrain from the daily bath for a whole week. We take also, in assemblies before daybreak, and from the hand of none but the chief minister, the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which the Lord delivered to the whole church, and at a mealtime. We make offerings for the dead, as birthday honors, as often as their anniversary comes around. On the Lord's day we count fasting or kneeling in prayer unlawful. From Easter to Whitsuntide also we rejoice in the same privilege. We feel pained if aught of our wine or bread be spilled on the ground. At every forward step and movement, at every going in and out, when we put on our clothes and shoes, when we bathe, when we take our places at the table, when we light the lamps, when we lie down, when we seat ourselves, whatever employment occupieth us, we sign our foreheads with the sign." The "sign" is that of the cross which the writer has seen Smith, "the boy murderer" of his patron and his wife who had continually befriended him according to his own words, use many times while relating the story of his hideous crime. The "ampler pledge" at baptism is the form of the creed as described in the *didache* instead of the simple formula, I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost. This rite could be administered but once though a martyr's death constituted for him an exceptional and effective second baptism. Such a remedy for sin, according to Tertullian, was not to be lightly used and was to be "withheld from children and unmarried persons on account of their unformed character." This view of bap-

tism was in no way peculiar to Tertullian, but was the accepted doctrine of the church for many centuries. In one respect it differed from what Irenaeus says in regard to infant baptism. The washing away of sin by the mere physical act of baptism was so strongly grounded that many, like Constantine, delayed the rite until just before death so as to assure a glorious entrance into heaven.

But although baptism washed away all past sins yet it was possible to sin after baptism had taken place. The early church had a most severe judgment for sins committed after baptism. One who had become a murderer, an adulterer, an apostate, could not be forgiven and readmitted into the communion of the church, "though he sought it carefully with tears," but was looked upon as forever lost. In the time of Tertullian the attitude of the church was changing and becoming more lenient toward deadly sins. Tertullian states that for some sins "God had provided a remedy through public confession, as a *second reserve* of aid against hell"—baptism being the first. This, however, could not be made use of but once. So also Hermas testifies in the case of adultery that there was pardon for once but not oftener. "For there is but one repentance for the servants of God."

During the later years of the life of Tertullian, there arose a matter of great dispute among Christians as to whether the church had any hope to offer to grievous sinners who had exhausted their repentance. Tertullian seems at first to have leaned toward the more lenient view, but later passed over to the stricter view and condemned in unmeasured terms those who were willing to pardon great offenders. Perhaps this was the influence of Montanism upon him. At first the church looked upon itself as a company of the actual disciples of Christ,—as "Saints" (*sancti*, holy), though not yet perfect. Some sins rendered membership in this body absolutely impossible. Tertullian held this view of the church, in harmony with the more severely spiritual everywhere, and he wrote his *Book on Modesty* as a defense of this view and in condemnation of the action of Bishop Callistus of Rome (217–222). The latter

had manifested a forgiving spirit in many ways and had finally declared that he would henceforth treat adultery and fornication as forgivable sins and reinstate such offenders in membership of the church after due confession and penance. This action on the part of the Bishop of the leading Christian church of the world was but the logical outcome of the feeling that had been growing in the church that the officers of the congregation — especially the bishop — were its organs in judging and pronouncing censure and restoration. In Paul's time such power was vested in the whole congregation. Callistus, by removing these offences from the list of unforgivable sins, implied a change in the theory of the church itself. It is henceforth to be viewed not as a "household of saints," but as "an agency of salvation" (which is better). The champions of this latter view cited Christ's parable of the tares to prove their position. Jesus said: "Let the wheat and the tares grow together till the harvest." Callistus likened the church to "Noah's Ark, full of clean and unclean beasts."

These two concepts, the one championed by the fiery Tertullian, the other set forth by the Bishop of Rome, have divided Christendom from that day to the present day. Many Christian societies have since that time sprung up that have insisted on *conscious Christian discipleship* as the condition of membership. They represent the old view. But the Christian church of the fourth century, like the state churches of modern times, reckoned all who had been baptized as of their membership, and required no profession of a "change of heart." It left, like Callistus, the sifting and the judgment to God. The stern conservatives have our sympathy and respect for their persistent struggle, but the Roman Bishop represented the tendency of the times and "the stars in their courses fought for him."

Tertullian's best thought in the realm of theology is seen in his independent development of the doctrine of the Trinity. It is in the writings of Tertullian that this term appears for the first time. He coined the term to express his peculiar ideas and brought it into its present use. He was the author of the clear distinction between the divine and the

human in Christ. To him "Christ was God and man joined in one person without confusion." He also coined the word "substance" in which "the Father, Son and Spirit alike share." We have seen how Tertullian condemned all philosophy as unprofitable and useless and yet his whole concept of the Trinity was worked out of Stoic philosophy. He must have been a close student of Musonius. He also gave the clearest exposition of the "Logos" Christology that can be found in the writings of the next hundred years. He coined and fixed the content of the Latin terms used in the creed of the church.

Of the last days of this great man we know nothing. He is represented as living to an extreme old age and probably died at Carthage about the year 227.

CHAPTER XV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HIERARCHY

IN another chapter (Ch. VII) we have given a sketch of the government of the early church and the order and power of its officers. As time went by and the number of Christians greatly increased, the number of officers increased and their duties were differentiated to suit the changed conditions. The government of the Church was of slow and of rather unsteady growth, adapting itself to conditions as they arose. Without any claim to divine regulation ecclesiastical polity shaped itself to the pattern of the political structure amid which Christians lived. This became more and more apparent as Christianity became a tolerated thing and finally the religion of the state. At this stage of development, however, it is not necessary for us to consider those problems which arose after the conversion of Constantine. Until the middle of the second century, there is little trace of any change in the government of churches or the number of officers. Then came the conflict with the Gnostics and the necessity of more careful supervision and instruction of the new converts. This entailed a large increase of ecclesiastical officers and a more complicated general polity. There may now be distinguished two clerical classes which may for convenience be designated as *major* and *minor*. We will consider them in this order.

The *major* class of the clergy consists of deacons, presbyters, and bishops. These were in existence with powers well defined by the middle of the second century. It is our purpose now to see how these several orders have changed in the course of one hundred years. The deacons were first appointed "to serve tables." The office of the deacon was originally designed to administer to the sick and the needy, but it has now grown into an important clerical order. By

the middle of the third century the deacon regularly baptized, prepared the bread and wine for the administration of the Lord's Supper, read the gospels and other lessons before the congregation. He frequently preached and administered the Lord's Supper to the sick and the absent. In the course of the second century the deacons became firmly attached to the bishop, as that officer was differentiated from the presbytery, and accompanied him upon his journeys through his diocese and represented him in the deliberative assemblies of the church, such as synods and councils. Somewhat later the deacons assumed the office of the *lector* and had assistants appointed to aid them in the minor duties of their office. Throughout the church great care was given to the preservation of the apostolic number of deacons,—seven. Only necessity was recognized as sufficient reason for the violation of this rule. In the middle of the third century even the Roman society with a membership of several thousand and forty-six presbyters had only seven deacons. The presbyters continued to act as in the Apostolic period. They conducted the public worship, administered the sacraments, and preached. Gradually the minor functions of the presbyterate were performed by subordinates and the presbyters gave almost their whole time to the pastoral duties of the office. In the Eastern churches the right to confirm remained with the presbyters while in the West this function was taken over by the bishop. Presbyters were appointed by the bishop with the concurrence of the church. The greatest change has taken place in the episcopacy. In the time of Clement of Rome there was no difference between the bishop and the presbyter, but by the end of the second century the bishop, as business officer of the church, was differentiated from the presbyters and became an independent officer. The bishop was originally elected by the congregation and an invitation was extended to the neighboring bishops to consecrate him to his new office. The form of election finally came to be by the votes of all the bishops of the province, in the presence of the laity of the society for which the election is being made and with their consent. The Council of Nicaea gave to the bishops of the province the right of election without

the participation of the laity, a mode which was much favored in the West by reason of the development of the hierarchy, but in the East the laity continued to exercise their right of election. Slight irregularity came in sometimes when the multitude simply caught up a layman (as in the case of Ambrose) and made him bishop by consent. Their choice was generally a wise one. The consecration of a bishop was performed by bishops, or by one bishop and presbyters chosen by the people.

The powers of the bishop grew continually. His was the ordaining power, but he usually delegated this to the presbyters. Important cases of need and difficulties between members came under his jurisdiction, but his power was limited by reason of his dependence upon the cooperation of the presbyters who originally had full jurisdiction in such cases. He was constantly dependent upon the clergy of his diocese. Cyprian declared that it was "a settled principle with him to do nothing without the cooperation of the presbyters." The lower clergy were nominated by him, but no preacher could advance from the lowest grade to orders without the approval of the presbyters. The bishop could not determine any important question of doctrinal variation, or discipline without the sanction of the presbyters of the diocese, summoned and sitting in the presence of the society. Country churches, under the auspices of a neighboring city church, were affiliated with it. They had for their pastor a presbyter from the parent church who was subject to the bishop. Rural churches planted independently, had each of them its own bishop. These kept up their independence for some time, but before the end of the third century, they were subordinated to the neighboring city churches, like those previously mentioned which were sprung from the city church. In this manner each city church had a rural extension, and the city bishop had a jurisdiction covering the town and the vicinity. The clergy of the city church, or leading city church if there were more than one, officiated at the country churches in an appointed order. As these rural churches grew, in time, it became common to assign a presbyter to each of them as a permanent pastor, subject, of

course, to the bishop of the town whose special connection was with the principal church. This was a very natural expansion of the power and the authority of the bishop. The bishop of the metropolis of each of the Roman provinces naturally acquired a precedence over other bishops within its limits. This took place without any formal ecclesiastical action and was owing to the rank of the city as the residence of the provincial governor and the seat of local authority. This fact usually determined the relative dignity of bishops. But the development of the metropolitan belongs to the fourth century.

The *minor* class of the clergy consisted of sub-deacons, acolytes, lectors or readers, catechists, interpreters, presentors, ostiarii. Of these *minor* clerics the sub-deacon was the most important. He assisted the deacons in the subordinate parts of the service, and they had charge of persons supposed to be demoniacs, and offered prayers over them in behalf of the church. Subsequently a special class called exorcists performed this duty and recited over the afflicted, incantations that were supposed to drive out any demon. Sub-deacons were ordained, and in this respect were slightly above the lectors whose office they frequently performed. The acolyte was a clerk who regularly accompanied the bishop and attended to his correspondence and kept the records of the diocese. The lectors or readers appear as a special clerical order toward the end of the second century. It was their duty to guard the sacred manuscripts which belonged to the society, and to read such passages of scripture in the public service as had not been read by the presbyter or deacon. It was customary to choose young men who were fitting for the ministry for this office as it was looked upon as an aid to the preparation for the ministry. It also furnished an opportunity to the church to determine, by the way in which he performed the duties of this minor office, whether the candidate for the ministry who came before them was a fit person for the office. In the time of Tertullian the office of lector seems to have been fully developed. The catechist was rarely raised to the rank of the clergy as his duties were regularly performed by a presby-

ter, a deacon, or a lector. In the great churches such as that of Alexandria where the duties of the presbyters, deacons, and lectors were so strenuous that they had no time for this work, a catechist was employed for the special task of training the young and preparing candidates for admission to the church. Interpreters had to be used in churches where the language of the people was neither Greek nor Latin. This office was necessary throughout North Africa where the people only spoke the Punic or Coptic language. Precentors were employed only in the large churches where sacred psalmody was developed to a large extent. The lowest church officers were the Ostiarii or door-keepers. These served as ushers, preserved order, and had charge of the church building.

The clergy were supported in part by collections and gifts of the congregation. In large and wealthy churches this would doubtless be sufficient. But all save the bishop pursued the customary employments of society. They tilled the ground, kept shop, worked at trades — especially shoemaking and blacksmithing — held civil offices, served as clerks and book-keepers, and all other occupations and trades. Cyprian made mournful protest against the long absence of his clergy on errands of business, and against the acceptance of civil offices which would take their time from the affairs of the church. Trade was finally forbidden to the clergy in the fifth century, but they were expected to learn some handicraft.

The restrictions upon the clerical office were severe in the early church, but grew lax in the middle ages when it was difficult to obtain sufficient clergymen to perform the church duties. No one was permitted to become a clergyman who had been subjected to church discipline in any way. A second marriage was a bar to entering the ministry. In the Eastern church marriages before incurring baptism were not counted as a disqualification. No one who had married a widow, courtesan, slave, or mistress could be ordained. The life of the candidates for ordination must have been open to the inspection of a Christian community where he expected to labor. He must have been recommended by an

officer of the church and passed examination as to his knowledge of the Scriptures and his moral character and standing in the community.

SECOND PERIOD

FROM THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE TO THE
FALL OF THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE

BOOK IV

CHRISTIANITY IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

CHAPTER XVI

THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND THE CHURCH

THE Roman idea of government, even during the long period of the Republic, was that of a limited monarchy. Power resided in the *people*, but government, in the last resort, was administered by *one man*. When the Republic was established the powers of the old-time king were but divided, his religious function being given to the "king of the sacrifices," his civil, to the two consuls. All other republican offices were obtained by the differentiation of consular powers, while in time of danger these powers were constitutionally vested in the hands of one man, the dictator. It is true that this arrangement was for a time of danger when the life of the Republic was threatened, but the people were familiarized with one-man administration, and recognized its value under certain conditions. The latter days of the Republic revealed a gradual passing over of power from the *people*, where it was thought to reside, to *one man*. This is easily seen in the disturbances under the Gracchi and the party struggles between the Optimates and Democrats under the leadership of Sulla and Marius. It culminated in the struggle between Octavius and Antony which resulted in the establishment of the empire. The people saw that the only way to end this period of strife and anarchy was, as in other times of danger, to revert to the dictatorship, to one-man power. The transformation from republican into imperial institutions was brought about by Augustus when he either assumed or had bestowed upon him by a subservient people, the *imperium*, the title of Augustus, tribunician pro-consular, and consular powers, supervision of the laws, and office of Pontifex Maximus. In the revolutionary establishment of the Republic, the old kingly powers were distributed among several officers. Now, by revolutionary process, these pow-

ers are again united. This is almost an exact reversal of the republican process. The emperor, by becoming a multiple magistrate and supreme leader in all matters of state, arrogated to himself all state functions. He was, indeed, the *state personified*. The forms of popular legislation ceased to be observed. Popular assemblies lost all power save that of election. The senate became the single and supreme law making authority of the state and the senate was the creature of the emperor. All the changes which took place during the reign of Augustus were brought about without changing the letter of the old republican constitution. They were, consequently, without the sanction of law. By the time of Hadrian, this *Caesarism* had become a permanent and legal institution. The whole theory of government had by this time changed and the emperor, and not the people, was looked upon as the fountain of power and justice, himself divine. The old idea of federation was abandoned. The franchise was extended and finally made universal by Caracalla. In this change it was not thought to increase the constitutional powers of the individual, or to associate that individual in government. It was merely the inauguration of universal taxation, the emblem of the unification which had taken place. "Egyptians, Arabs, Jews, Greeks, Gauls, Britons, Iberians,—all alike were under the sovereign rule of Rome. One great state embraced the nomad shepherds who spread their tents on the borders of Sahara, the mountaineers in the fastnesses of Wales, and the citizens of Athens, Alexandria, and Rome, heirs to all the luxury and learning of the ages. Whether one lived in York or Jerusalem, Memphis or Vienna, he paid his taxes into the same treasury, he was tried by the same law, and looked to the same armies for protection." The revolutionary movement which culminated in the establishment of the empire arrested the elements of decay and brought in order and progress, which continued, despite temporary lapses by reason of inefficient or vicious emperors, for two-hundred years. From the death of Marcus Aurelius, in 180 A. D., to the accession of Diocletian, in 284, civil war had been so constant within the empire, and the attacks of the barbarians had been

so fierce, that it seemed as if nothing short of a miracle could save the decaying state which was no longer Roman save in name. The real seat of government was not at Rome, but rather at the camp where every emperor spent the most of his time. We have seen that the people had long since lost all control of the government, and that citizenship had been conferred upon all the people of the empire by Caracalla, in 212. Henceforth every free man, whether Briton, Syrian, or African, could boast the Roman name. It was thus no longer a title of distinction, but a means of increasing the taxes. The army was recruited from the barbarians of the border provinces, not even the officers being of Roman blood. Again, the army chose the emperors from its own generals and these being of barbarian stock dictated the entire policy of the government in accordance with the needs of the outlying provinces rather than those of Rome. "The form (of the empire) was still the same," says Gibbon, "but the animating health and vigor were fled. The industry of the people was discouraged and exhausted by a long series of oppression. The discipline of the legions, which alone after the extinction of every other virtue, had propped the greatness of the state, was corrupted by the ambition, or relaxed by the weakness, of the emperors. The strength of the frontiers . . . was insensibly undermined; and the fairest provinces were left exposed to the rapaciousness of the barbarians, who soon discovered the decline of the empire."

It is to the merit of Diocletian, the son of an Illyrian peasant and a slave mother, that he found a way to arrest the threatening dissolution. He came to the imperial throne in 284 A. D., after a long and varied career as a soldier. He perceived that the only thing that would save the empire was a radical change in the entire system of administration. He thought the task of governing the whole was too much for one man. He, accordingly, associated Maximian, his old companion in arms who had succeeded in reestablishing peace in Gaul, with himself as co-emperor, and divided with him the responsibility of the administration. He had no thought of dividing the empire, but only the administration.

He himself took the East as his portion, with his seat of government at Nicodemia in Bithynia, while Maximian took the West, with Milan as his capital. These two decided to occupy themselves exclusively with the civil administration. Each of the Augusti associated with himself a younger man with the title of Caesar. When an Augustus died one of the Caesars was to take his place, so that the office of emperor was never vacant. This scheme was to supply what the empire had heretofore lacked, an order of succession. Emperors were to be no longer elected but chosen by their predecessor, thus being independent of the senate and the army. The Caesars were to be in training for the imperial duties and, therefore, well fitted for their discharge when called upon to perform them. They were to command the army. The two men chosen for the work were Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, Illyrians like the Augusti, and men of long training in the army. Diocletian chose Galerius as his Caesar and placed him in command of the army on the frontiers of Illyria. Constantius Chlorus took command of the army in the West under Maximian, and was stationed in Britain as military governor of Britain, Gaul, and Spain. In this way the imperial authority was placed in the hands of four men with Diocletian as senior and adviser in both civil and military affairs. Just as the administration of the empire seemed in the eyes of Diocletian too much for one man, so the ancient provinces seemed to be too large for one governor. At the time of his accession the empire was divided into fifty-seven provinces. He further divided them, making ninety-six in all. The provincial governors were deprived of all military power and so acted as chiefs of divisions of the civil administration under Diocletian and Maximian respectively. Italy was now for the first time divided into provinces and made subject to imperial taxation like the other divisions of the empire. Thus the empire was completely reorganized and peace reigned throughout its borders. After twenty years, during which time the four colleagues seemed to rule in perfect harmony, Diocletian abdicated and compelled Maximian to abdicate also, leaving the power, according to arrangements, in the hands of the

two Caesars, who now became Augusti and appointed two new Caesars (305 A. D.), Severus in Italy, and Maximus Daza, in Illyria.

Constantius Chlorus died within a year or so after his election and his soldiers proclaimed his son Constantine, who was with him in Britain, Augustus, in spite of the rule established by Diocletian. This was the beginning of trouble which resulted in civil war. More than six claimants to the imperial throne entered the lists. Out of the turmoil Constantine the Great, son of Constantius Chlorus, finally came as sole ruler of the empire. As soon as he was firmly established on the throne he took up the task of reorganizing the empire which Diocletian had partially carried out before him. The plan of subdividing the authority had proved a failure and Constantine abandoned that, keeping the whole in his own hands; but he perfected the plan for the subdivision of the administration. In the first place he divided the empire into four parts called praefectures, the praefecture of Italy, the praefecture of Gaul, the praefecture of Illyricum, and the praefecture of the East. Over each of these, under the authority of the emperor, he placed a civil officer called a praefect. Each of these praefectures was again divided into dioceses, making twelve in all. Each diocese had an officer called a vicar who was responsible to the praefect. The dioceses were divided into one-hundred and nineteen provinces. Over each province was a governor who resided in the principal town or metropolis of the province. He was responsible to the vicar of the diocese and had under him a numerous retinue of personal followers or clerks who aided him in the discharge of his duties and were responsible for all errors made in the administration. Each province was divided into townships (*civitates*) which corresponded somewhat to our counties and were merely the districts united to Roman towns or cities. Over each of these townships ruled a general council, called a senate or curia. These were taken from among the free men or proprietors who owned at least sixteen acres of land in the township. They made up the class of curiales who were responsible for the taxes. Military affairs were kept strictly

apart from all this civil organization. The armies were divided into smaller legions than formerly and were put in command of counts and dukes who commanded in the frontier provinces. There were two commanders-in-chief, one for the infantry and one for the cavalry. Constantine decided as a last step in his new scheme to remove his official capital from Rome to Byzantium so that he might be nearer what he called the center of his empire. The old city had been destroyed during the civil war. The new city which now arose upon its ruins was named Constantinople in honor of its founder. The new scheme of government devised by Diocletian and Constantine saved the life of the empire for another hundred years, but they washed out the last forms of republicanism and *established the complete emancipation of imperial authority*. Old local and national distinctions, privileges, and liberties were removed and the taxing power placed in the hands of imperial officers. The old Roman ideals were all gone. Patrician and pleb, optimate and democrat, have alike been swallowed up. The all-powerful Patrician *people* has given place to the all-powerful Plebeian *people*, and this, in turn, to the all-powerful emperor. The new idea is very nearly a "Resident Theocracy," or government of God present on earth.

"Of all the historical problems, none has been discussed," says Milman, "with a stronger bias of opinion, of passion, and of prejudice, according to the age, the nation, the creed, of the writer, than the conversion of Constantine, and the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the empire. Hypocrisy, policy, superstition, divine inspiration, have been in turn assigned as the sole or the predominant influence which, operating on the mind of the emperor, decided at once the religious destiny of the empire. But there is nothing improbable in supposing, that Constantine was actuated by concurrent, or even conflicting motives; all of which united in enforcing the triumph of Christianity. There is nothing contradictory in the combination of motives themselves, particularly if we consider them as operating with greater strength, or with successive paroxysms, as it were, of influence, during the different periods in the life of Constantine, on

the soldier, the statesman, and the man. The soldier, at a perilous crisis, might appeal, without just notions of his nature, to the tutelary power of a deity to whom a considerable part of his subjects, and perhaps of his army, looked up with faith or with awe. The statesman may have seen the absolute necessity of basing his new constitution on religion; he may have chosen Christianity as obviously possessing the strongest, and a still strengthening, hold upon the minds of his people. He might appreciate, with profound political sagacity, the moral influence of Christianity, as well as its tendency to enforce peaceful, if not passive, obedience to civil government. At a later period, particularly if the circumstances of his life threw him more into connection with the Christian priesthood, he might gradually adopt as a religion that which had commanded his admiration as a political influence."

No matter what view we may take of the character of Constantine we must still recognize his right to the title of Great. The victorious career that made him sole emperor and gave him a secure and powerful empire and reign proved that he was a great general. The civil administration that reorganized the empire under a new constitution and marked a new epoch if not revolution in its national history was evidence of his greatness as a statesman. But the policy which Constantine adopted toward Christianity, even if we regard it as nothing more than policy, gives him his chief title to greatness. The dramatic element connected with the conversion of Constantine is in keeping with his character. His life was dramatic from first to last, and occasionally he seemed even to himself to be merely playing a part, always a major note. His troops forced him against his will and best judgment to proclaim himself Augustus and enter into the struggle which was to end in making him sole ruler of the Roman world; but on breaking camp in the lower Rhine country and starting on his journey toward Rome, he declared himself god-directed. The vision which came to him on the road and which lay back of his raising the *Labarum* as the symbol of his army is but one act in the play. To what extent he really believed that he was god-impelled is

known only to himself. He knew when to speak and when to remain silent. But to the modern historian this portion of his life seems like fine acting. Politically he chose the wise part, and in his extension and modification of the constitution of Diocletian, he showed himself to be a far-sighted statesman. After he had made himself master of the Roman empire and had no special use for aid from Christians, he seems honestly to have made the cause of Christianity his own and become the most illustrious and exalted patron and champion that it had ever had. He was, moreover, deeply concerned about it, and gave ungrudgingly his time and thought to its advancement. Constantine had a rare genius for administration and organization and when he became a Christian, he desired to unify and organize the Christian church as he had the empire. However, he was great enough to perceive that there was something which the world needed more than unification and organization. He saw clearly that the old religions had had their day and their power had departed, that there was no longer life sufficient in Greek philosophy to redeem society from decay and death. He recognized the necessity of a moral reconstruction of the individual life and also of society, and he saw in Christianity the power to accomplish this. Someone has said: "We must give him credit for a sincere desire for moral reform and confess that henceforth there was a marked increase if not in nobility of character at least in outward respectability of conduct." Constantine was the first man at the head of human affairs to realize what Christianity might be to the social and political life of the empire at a time when that empire was hastening on to destruction by reason of moral decay. He called upon that Church which bore the name of Christ to come to the front in human affairs and redeem the Roman world by its moral and spiritual uplifting power.

Contrary to general opinion the conversion of Constantine to Christianity was very deliberate. He was born in 274 A. D. His mother was almost certainly a Christian and his father was very kindly disposed toward the faith. While his training from early youth had been that of the soldier

and he had spent his life in camp, he had won the reputation of being kind, generous, and manly, a good soldier, and temperate in his habits. He was thirty-nine years old when the vision appeared to him on the road to Rome and forty-nine when he became sole emperor and declared himself a Christian. He thus came late into the Christian church with manners of life and habit of thought pretty well established. He was older by four years than was Tertullian when he was converted and nine years older than Justin Martyr.

The conversion of Constantine to Christianity meant not so much the conversion of an individual as that of the state which he typified. It meant the loss, in large measure, of the individual standpoint which was hitherto the Christian tower of strength. The Roman had lost his individuality and had become a mere inseparable and irresponsible fragment of Imperialism. Citizenship had long since become universal, but citizenship, in becoming universal, lost all its virtue. Diocletian, the divine emperor of a divine but heathen state, died; Constantine, the divine emperor of a divine but Christian state, lived. The irresponsible fragments of the former's state remained the irresponsible fragments of the latter's state, and as such were Christians. Yesterday, Romans were born members of a heathen state and, having the protection of the law, were heathen; today, Romans were born members of a Christian state and, having the protection of the law, were Christians.

"On the incorporation of the church and state, the co-ordinate and religious magistracy maintains each its separate powers. . . . As a citizen and subject, the Christian, the priest, and the bishop, were alike amenable to the laws of the empire and to the imperial decrees, and liable to taxation, unless specially exempted, for the services of the state. The theory was distinct and perfect; each had its separate and exclusive sphere. . . . The treaty between the contracting parties was in fact formed with such haste and precipitancy, that the rights of neither party could be defined or secured. Eager for immediate union and impatient of delay, they framed no deed of settlement, by which, when their mu-

tual interests should be less identified, and jealousy and estrangement should arise, they might assert their respective rights, and enforce their several duties." By the union of the state with the church the empire gained the temporary backing of a great community and a religion whose purity and morality were the greatest that the world had ever seen. It was this moral strength supplanting the state's organization that caused the falling empire to revive and live. But the state lost as well as gained, something of vast importance. It lost its unity and found that it had taken to itself an institution out of harmony with its own theory of government. Christianity gained immensely by the change although it was not necessary for her life or growth as had been proved very conclusively by her three hundred years of glorious struggle. The church gained wealth and distinction by this sudden elevation beyond any dreams of her most ambitious bishop. Imperial pomp and display was now hers with a seat at the right hand of the emperor himself. No longer was the church compelled to subsist upon the alms of the grateful and enthusiastic, but poor, members of Christian communities. Her coffers were now filled from the royal treasury. She gained Roman imperial organization and Roman law, the latter Rome's transcendent gift to the world's civilization. But the church at the same time suffered great loss, that came near causing her utter failure and death. She lost her purity and humility and became corrupt and autocratic. She lost her simplicity and directness and was no longer able, as of old, to appeal to the down-trodden and the outcast, God's multitude of poor. But the church's greatest loss was that of her individualism. *She no longer built into Christ's kingdom individual by individual*, through her personal effort and sacrifice. This loss was never to be retrieved until after the fall of the empire and the rise of new nationalities.

CHAPTER XVII

CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES

WHEN the new faith came to the imperial throne in the person of Constantine the Great, Christians, no doubt, thought with joy that the "day of the Lord was come." They were but recently released from the reign of the fiercest of all their persecutions. Instead of being hunted and destroyed as enemies of the state, they were now protected and aided by that state. Constantine, too, thought that by the plan which he had followed, unity and peace would be secured throughout the entire empire; a peace based upon the moral and spiritual teachings of the Christian church. But this was not so. Christians on the one side and Constantine on the other, were both grievously disappointed. The religion which the emperor had adopted and protected was no sooner in a place of security than religious ends began to stir the whole empire into unseemly and disgraceful strife. It is no wonder that Constantine began to think he had made a mistake in adopting Christianity as a means of peace, and grew strangely cold and politic in his later years. The elements which produced the great controversy that bears the name of Arius had, in fact, been active for many years. They all centered about the divinity of Jesus Christ. The scene of the controversy lay in Alexandria, Palestine, and Constantinople. Its chief sources are traceable for more than a hundred years back of the characters that forced the issue in 325. To understand the position of the church it is necessary to go back and trace the roots of the problem from the beginning.

In the Apostolic Age there is no trace of any discussion concerning the divinity of Jesus. The disciples were too busy teaching what Jesus taught and setting forth his Messiahship to engage in any dispute concerning his particular

relationship to God. Their audiences were mostly Jews who had definite views touching the Jewish Messiah which they inherited from their parents. This made any elaboration as to the person and attributes of the Messiah needless. Paul reached out from Judaism and spent his life preaching to the mixed audiences of the Graeco-Roman world. His writings show that he was much influenced by Alexandrian philosophy as is demonstrated by his doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ, though he always represents Christ as subordinate to the Father. His writings were not generally known before the end of the first century. The Fourth Gospel is preeminently the Biblical authority for the divinity of Jesus. The author takes for the base of his gospel the Logos philosophy of the Stoics (Divine Word) and through this medium explains the life and message of Jesus Christ, his divine Sonship, and unity with the Father. But the teaching of the Fourth Gospel could have had but little influence before the second half of the second century as the Gospel was not written earlier than 103-110 A. D. and there are no quotations from it earlier than Justin Martyr. There is nothing in the authentic writings of Clement of Rome, Ignatius, or Polycarp, to give us any idea as to the views of the church upon the relationship of Jesus Christ to God other than the Old Testament concept of the Messiah. Early in the second century, perhaps because of the intermixture of Syrian Greeks with Hebrews in the Christian Church at Antioch, there arose a Jewish sect called Ebionites who adhered very closely to the Jewish law in all things and insisted upon circumcision as necessary to membership in the Christian church. They accepted Jesus as the Messiah, but interpreted the Messiah of the Jews as a human personage, great and wise, giving his life to the moral and spiritual upbuilding of his people, but human and limited in every respect like any other man. This was, no doubt, the view of the Messiah held by many, perhaps the majority, of the Jews. They accepted the Gospel of Matthew, but rejected the Epistles of Paul. They lived according to the strictest teaching of Christ and exalted a life of poverty and privation as that best suited to the Christian life. They

were such strict monotheists that they were afraid of all terms which seemed to lessen the honor of God, and to bestow upon the Messiah any divine attributes and prerogatives. Ignatius has reference to Ebionites where he warns the church to whom he writes against "seductive teachers." They finally ceased as a distinct sect toward the end of the second century, but their ideas were taken up in a slightly modified form by the Monarchists.

At the close of the second century one Theodotus, a learned leather-worker from Byzantium, went to Rome where he taught Jesus was a man born of a virgin in accordance with the Bible story; that he grew to manhood as the most pious and just of all men; that upon his baptism by John the Christ (the Logos) descended upon him and through him he did all his miracles. But Theodotus denied the incarnation of the Christ spirit (Logos) and claimed that Jesus was not to be worshipped as God, but looked upon as a holy and great man and wondrous teacher. It is to be noticed that Theodotus, although his maintenance of the Messianic idea is in harmony with the teachings of the Ebionites, was in no sense Jewish or Messianic. The spirit which took possession of Jesus was the divine Logos of the Greeks and Jesus was not the human Messiah of the Ebionites, but a holy man accomplishing his work through the spiritual quickening of the one God. Theodotus was condemned by Victor, Bishop of Rome, as a heretic and excommunicated. He gained a large following in Rome and thus formed for a time a society of their own during the bishopric of Zephyrinus. Artemon advocated the same views as did Theodotus, teaching, in Rome, that Jesus was a mere man. He claimed that this was the doctrine of the early church and that Zephyrinus was perverting the true doctrine by advocating Christ's divinity. He was excommunicated by Zephyrinus in 216 A. D.

Of all those who advocated the Monarchian idea Paul of Samosata, Bishop at Antioch, was by far the most able and influential. He was a man who stood very high in influence in both church and state. The church of Antioch was, in 260, second only to Rome in importance and influence in the

affairs of the church in general. But Paul was not only Bishop but he was also Viceroy of the city, governing it in the name of the Queen of Palmyra, the famous Zenobia. Paul was too prosperous to escape the envy and jealousy of those high up in the councils of the state and church. He was by nature something of a politician and intriguer but he was also a man of keen intellectual power and considerable scholarship. It has been the habit of those who did not believe as he did to deny his honesty of conviction and to claim that he set forth his views merely for purposes of notoriety. But it is poor policy to deny the honesty of your opponent simply because he advocates what you do not believe. No evidence appears to substantiate this claim on the part of the enemies of Paul. He affirmed distinctly and without reserve or subterfuge the mere manhood of our Lord. In accordance with the philosophic concept of the Greeks, he held that the divine Logos was incarnate in Jesus only as the wisdom and grace of God may be incarnate in any man. According to him the Logos appears as in a certain sense begotten of God and, therefore, assumes a kind of independent subsistence as the principle of the divine working forth. But as this principle appears in the prophets, and even in a greater degree in Moses, and many others, as in Socrates and Plato, so it is even in a still greater degree and in an extraordinary manner in the man Christ, born of the Virgin. "The *Logos from above*," he says, "is in the Christ from beneath as in its temples and inspires him." In spite of the emergence of the Logos from God, Paul accentuated the idea that God was to be conceived as universal. He denied the personality of the Logos. "Wisdom (the Logos) dwelt in Christ," says Paul, "as in no other man." In other words, Jesus Christ had more of the divine Logos than did any other man, but the kind of it was the same in all. The indwelling Logos was not that of a person but rather of a quality or character. "Jesus Christ was divine," he says, "not in the sense that he was God become man but man become as God. The deity grew by gradual process out of the humanity."

The opponents of Paul of Samosata arranged for a pro-

vincial synod in 264 at which Firmilian, Bishop of Caesarea, presided. After considerable discussion the synod adjourned without accomplishing anything as Firmilian was satisfied with the statements of Paul. It took three synods to dispose of this question when Paul was finally excommunicated and deposed from the bishopric, but was supported by Zenobia until after the conquest of Antioch by the emperor Aurelian and the fall of the queen, Zenobia, in 272. The fall of Paul may be considered the end of the Dynamistic Monarchianism controversy but there went forth from him abiding influences upon subsequent times. Traces of his views may be seen in the later school of Antioch and the writings of the famous Bishop of Antioch, Lucian. It is needless to say that the concept of Paul of Samosata as to Jesus Christ was almost identical with that of Justin Martyr to whom never a shadow of heresy attached, and is today the view held by many scholarly Christians.

The second form of Monarchianism has become known as the Modalistic Monarchianism of the Patripassians. It arose in Asia Minor as did also the first or Dynamistic Monarchians. The chief representative of the Modalistic Monarchians was Noetus of Smyrna. The question of the divinity of Christ was brought very forcibly to his attention by the popular conviction as expressed in the hymns of the church. How could this be maintained in the face of the distinct confession of the exclusive unity of God? He reasoned out the problem as follows: "Jesus Christ himself was the Almighty God and Father and therefore, the Father himself, had taken upon himself both suffering and death in the flesh. God had permitted his creatures to nail him to the cross and so put him to an ignoble death." Noetus was brought to trial by the presbyters of his church, but the explanations he offered were deemed sufficient and he was freed for a time. He was subsequently tried a second time and was excommunicated. He evidently taught but a short time before he was silenced but he had succeeded in winning to his views a capable disciple, Epuginus by name, who went to Rome to teach in 215, and succeeded in converting to the Patripassian view Cleomines, a presbyter of the Roman

church. Zephyrinus, the Bishop of Rome, became a disciple of Cleomines and favored the adoption of these views by his clergy. Following Zephyrinus, Callistus became Bishop and adopted the same views as his predecessor. According to Tertullian these men obtained a large following in Rome. Sabellius developed the Monarchianism of Noetus into a Triad. This was merely an expansion of the teaching of Noetus that Christ was Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, all three. Sabellius and his followers were condemned as heretics at Alexandria in 261.

The Patripassians, in eliminating the humanity of Jesus and making him the Father, with the correlated idea of the Father himself suffering upon the cross, while removing one difficulty, ran into a greater one. If the Father suffered death at the hands of his creatures, then there must have been a moment between his death and resurrection in which the world was without God. Then too the thought was a shocking one that God the creator of the universe was put to death by man whom he created. To avoid such a catastrophe the Docetae promulgated the doctrine that Jesus' appearance was form without substance. They denied the conception of Mary, the birth of Christ, and the thirty years preceding the ministry. They claimed that Jesus was pure God; that he appeared on the banks of the Jordan in the form of a perfect manhood, but this was form only and not substance; there was no real crucifixion of God but only of this "shadow Christ."

Cerinthus, a Gnostic teacher of Asia Minor, taught that in Jesus Christ we had a supernatural union of man with God. Jesus was a mere man, the legitimate son of Joseph and Mary, who grew to manhood and labored at the bench with his father. He was a very wise and pure man. At his baptism to repentance by John, the first of the aeons, the Son of God, descended upon him in the form of a dove and took possession of him, performing all the miracles and speaking all the words of divine wisdom that fell from the lips of Jesus. When the Messiah was delivered up to be crucified the aeon or Christ the Son of God went back to heaven, leaving the man Jesus to suffer death.

From what precedes it will appear that for upwards of one hundred and fifty years before the time of Arius the divinity of Jesus was a subject for reason and discussion. We have thus traced in outline the development of speculative opinion which prepared the way for the culmination in the great Arian controversy. Against the Monarchians of all grades were the Alexandrian teachers who held to a theory of subordination which they deemed to be that of Origen. He held to the eternal begottenness of the Logos and so made the Logos and Son of God synonymous terms. He thus emphasized the divinity of the Logos and also asserted the personal substance of the same. But while Origen in a sense elevated the Logos by making it *One with the Son of God*, he still regarded it as only a second principle and so subordinate to God. In the struggle which the church carried on during the latter half of the second, and throughout the third century, with the Monarchians, and the Subordinationists, the Logos became but another name for the Son of God, eternally begotten, but secondary or subordinate to God the Father; "an independent substance or quasi-Personality; in this sense a preexistent Divine Person, identified with the Christ." This seems to the writer to be the exact view of St. Paul.

The lines of demarkation between the contending parties in the great controversy which we are approaching are very clearly drawn by Professor Allen as follows: "The mystic, reverential, imaginative, mood dwells upon the Attribute, which it tends more and more to merge in absolute Divinity, in the direction of a religious Pantheism. The rational analytic, criticising mood dwells upon the Substance or Person (*hypostasis*), which it tends more and more to make distinct and separate and therefore a logically dependent and inferior being. To the first, the Logos as Divine Wisdom is necessarily coeternal with God himself, as light with the source of light. To the second, the Logos as a Divine Person is necessarily inferior to and (so to speak) younger than the Infinite, just as a son is younger than his father. To the first, Christ is the Son of God figuratively, by eternal

generation; to the second, he is the Son of God literally, as the 'first-born of the creation.'"

The Arian controversy proper falls into two periods. The former extends from its rise to the time of its greatest ascendancy at the death of Constantius, or 318-361. The second period reached from the beginning of Julian's reign to the extinction of Arianism proper by the devices of the second council of Constantinople, or 361-381. Arius, who gave a name to the controversy, was born in Lybia of a prominent family, and was educated at the famous school of Antioch under the guidance of the presbyter Lucian, a distinguished scholar and educator, who rather sided with Paul of Samosata and against those who condemned him. Arius absorbed the views of the Antiochine School which laid particular stress upon the unity of the divine nature and distinguished very sharply between the persons of the Godhead. He was at first a deacon in the church of Alexandria; afterwards a presbyter of the church at Baukalis in the diocese of Alexandria. Arius is represented by Epiphanius as a man of restless and disputatious temper, a very uncomfortable antagonist in a war of words. In person he was slender and tall. His features were fine cut and rather sharp and emaciated by constant fasting. In manner he was courteous and gentle; careful, almost fastidious, in his dress; ready of speech, with a beautiful and well-modulated voice. He was popular with the common people and, especially, with the women. His life was severely pure and by it he had won the affections of some bishops and many monks. "His austere life and novel doctrines," says Gwatkin, "his dignified character and championship of 'common sense in religion,' made him the idol of the ladies and the common people. . . . He knew how to cultivate his popularity by pastoral visiting — his enemies called it canvassing — and by issuing a multitude of theological songs 'for sailors and millers and wayfarers,' as one of his admirers says. The excitement spread to every village in Egypt, and Christian divisions became a pleasant subject for the laughter of the heathen theaters."

Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, was preaching one Sun-

day, in 318, not long after his people had been freed from the last of the persecutions, upon the cardinal points of the Christian faith: "that the glorious sun in heaven represents the father; his Light the eternal Word (Logos); his Heat, the life-giving Spirit"; and so on to the end of a glowing but loose-jointed and rather prolix discourse, when a voice from one of the back seats in his congregation cried out: "That is the false doctrine of Sabellius!" Sabellius was probably the most eloquent as well as the last of the champions of the Monarchic doctrine. He was condemned as a heretic and excommunicated, but the sermon of Alexander might well have been that of Sabellius. The interrupting voice was that of Arius. The controversy was now on and the argument was a warm one between these opposing champions. It was largely a mere battle of words as neither one could define his position in such a manner as to make it plain to us. In fact, the problem, if worth the attention of any thinking man, is as far from solution as ever after eighteen centuries of speaking and book-writing. So far as words go the views were about as follows:

Arius, following up the moment of passionate distinction, as had previously been done by Dionysius the Great of Alexandria (247-268), subordinated the Logos Son to the Father so that the "son emerged from the sphere of the Godhead, and his generation became a creation by the will of God." Arius claimed that, "There was when the son did not yet exist." Before this generation the Father existed alone. Any imparting of his nature would be division and finite and to that extent would lessen the divine nature. "The son is, therefore, the *creation of the divine will, and not the unfolding of the divine nature.*" The son was begotten before all worldly time but not eternally. He is free from sin but not unchangeable by nature, but by free determination of will. The Son was the creator of the world but only as the instrument of God.

The views maintained by Bishop Alexander may be fairly well seen in the letter which Arius wrote to Eusebius of Nicomedia, who had been a fellow-student of Julian, and was soon to become the intellectual head and storm-center of the

moment. "The bishop fiercely assaults and drives us, leaving no means untried in his opposition. At length he has driven us out of the city as ungodly for dissenting from his public declarations that, 'as God is eternal, so is his Son; where the Father is, there is the Son: the Son coexists in God without a beginning; ever-generate or born, or born without beginning; that neither in idea nor by an instant of time does God precede the Son; an eternal God, an eternal Son; the Son is from God himself.' . . . These blasphemies we can not bear even to hear; no, not though the heretics should threaten us with ten thousand deaths."

If now we place these two views together, we will find that there are many things in common. There is an argument on the Son of God as "a derived existence and as generated by the Father, and also that Christ, in any case, finite or infinite, was the all-perfect Savior." Now the difficulty begins. Each one of the disputants proceeds to place Christ in his proper rank in the universe. Alexander claims that his generation was from eternity and therefore coeval with the Father. In the second place, he holds that the Son was so derived of, and from the Father; that he was of the same essence with the Father. Arius, as we have already seen, denied the last propositions. For a time the controversy went no farther. Alexander called a synod of his diocese, and excommunicated Arius and banished him from the city. But Arius had a host of friends, many of them high up in the councils of the church. The trouble spread to Constantinople and throughout Palestine and Egypt. The emperor looked upon the controversy as a battle of words, as it appears to us today, and ordered both parties to desist for the sake of unity and peace in the empire. But through the learned Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, he learned that there was actually something of value at stake, and immediately summoned a general council at Nicaea, in the year 325. Constantine showed great interest in and reverence for the council. There were over three hundred bishops and many of the inferior clergy in attendance. Of these representatives a large majority were Greeks from the East. The West took very little interest in this controversy, send-

ing as delegates only four persons, Hosius of Cordova, Caecilian of Carthage, and two Roman presbyters, Vito and Vincent. The sessions were at first held in a church, Bishop Hosius presiding. After a session of a fortnight Constantine arrived and presided over the assembly, the body henceforth sitting in a palace. The Eusebians, as the party favorable to Arius was called, seemed to be in the lead at first and quite certain of a measure of success. They proposed a creed and submitted it to the council, but the great body of the bishops were not of the Arian view. They rejected it and Eusebius of Caesarea brought in a formula which was something of a compromise between the Arian view and its opponents. This was rejected and the formula of Nicaea was submitted by Hosius, Alexander and the young deacon, Athanasius. This was favored by the emperor who, though not much interested in the theological discussion, was determined to have unity established at all cost. The discussion went on "like a battle in the night," neither party knowing the ground upon which it stood. It lasted for two months, now one side in the ascendancy, now the other. Finally, by judicious compromise and careful definition, they produced what is known as the "Nicene Creed," a document of some twenty lines. It was not at all satisfactory to many of the Greeks, but Constantine looked upon it as a great state paper and required everyone to sign it. This they did, many, no doubt, with mental reservations, such as those made by Eusebius of Caesarea. The test-word in this creed was the Greek word *homoousios*, rendered into Latin by *con-substantial*. The Creed adopted is as follows:

"We believe in one God: the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God begotten of the Father. Only-begotten, that is of the substance of the Father; God of God; Light of Light; very God of very God; begotten not made; of the same substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things in earth; who for us men and our salvation descended and became flesh, was made man, suffered and rose again the third day. He ascended

into heaven; he cometh to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost. But those that say there was a time when he was not, or he was not, before he was begotten; or that he was made from that which had no being; or who affirm the Son of God to be of any other substance or essence, or created or variable or mutable, such persons doth the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematize."

Arius was excommunicated and driven into exile in Illyria and it might well be considered that the controversy was at an end and unity of belief firmly established. This, however, was far from true. It was only the beginning of a strife that was to go on under different names for more than a generation. It was destined to be an event in history turning chiefly upon the personal fortunes and adventures of Athanasius who represented in himself more than in any other the dominant faith. He was a young man under thirty at the time of the Council, well trained, of keen intellect, courageous, never able to see but one side of a question and that the one he was on. He was quick at repartee, and master of a vituperative vocabulary that would have done honor to Peter Damiani. The persons of the subsequent struggle gathered about him, and gave him credit for knowledge and ability that never were his, and attributed to him crimes and villainies that were pure fabrications. He enjoyed great honor for a few years after the Council and was unanimously elected bishop of Alexandria upon the death of Alexander in 328. But he was never very popular with the common people on account of his arbitrary and aristocratic disposition. Arius, on the other hand, had made friends of many prominent bishops who exerted themselves in his favor. He had also aided his cause by the publication of a treatise entitled *Thalia* (The Banquet). This was written in metrical prose. He also justified himself before the emperor by means of a confession of faith which was stripped of all offending theological terms, but which still kept the essence of the Arian creed. Constantine wanted unity of the bishops and cared nothing for the creed. In case he could not secure that unity by means of the Nicene formula, he was willing to adopt some other plan. The one

followed was that suggested by Eusebius of Nicomedia, a great friend of Arius. This was to get rid of those bishops most ardently opposed to Arius, and to bring the rest into harmony by means of a slight compromise. Athanasius, now Bishop of Alexandria, and Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, could not be reconciled to any compromise whatever, and an effort was accordingly put forth to remove these men from office. Through the exertions of Eusebius of Nicomedia Eustathius of Antioch was set aside in 330, but Athanasius was not so easily disposed of. Advantage was taken of the discontent with his episcopal administration, manifested by some of the lower clergy and many of the laymen. Athanasius was able, in a private conference with the emperor, to explain away these charges, and peace was for a time restored; but charges were again brought forward and a synod was convened at Tyre, in 335, led by Eusebius of Caesarea, and Athanasius was here finally deposed from his office and banished on account of alleged use of violence in his conduct of office. The bishops who were assembled at Tyre for the trial of Athanasius were invited by Constantine to Jerusalem to attend the formal dedication of the beautiful church built by the munificence of the emperor. Here, by reason of evidence brought forward by Constantine, they declared for the removal of the decree of banishment against Arius and his re-admission to the church. Meantime Athanasius had departed from Tyre immediately upon his deposition from office and went to Constantinople to vindicate himself before the emperor. He succeeded in making quite a favorable impression upon Constantine, but this was afterwards removed; some say through the influence of Eusebius of Caesarea; others, through the solicitude for her friend Arius, of Constantia, the sister of Constantine. Be that as it may Arius was recalled to Constantinople where arrangements were made for his readmission into church fellowship, but he suddenly died before the formal reception took place; a thoroughly righteous and pure man, ardently believing in the justice of his cause, but entangled in the meshes of a philosophical and metaphysical controversy that was beyond any human mind to understand. He, as well as

his opponents, lost sight of, and consequently obscured, the simple teachings of Jesus Christ. It is much easier to talk about the nature and attributes of God than to do his will. Athanasius was banished but received with considerable favor at the court of Treves by the younger Constantine. Here he remained until after the death of Constantine the Great in 337 and the division of the empire between his sons, Constantine II and Constantius. Favored by Constantine II, Athanasius ventured to return to Alexandria, but was unable to maintain himself there because of the open hostility of Constantius, who was now ruler of the east, and the enmity of Eusebius of Nicomedia, who had recently been made bishop of Constantinople and could not forget the part Athanasius had played in the Council of Nicaea. Athanasius was again banished and this time went to Rome where he was joyfully received and voted approval by the Roman synod of 341. Here he took up the study of Latin and pursued it with such zeal that he was able to interpret the Nicene creed to the western church. The synod of Antioch which attempted a compromise proved a complete failure. The general council of Sardica in Illyria, 343, re-enacted the Nicene creed and restored Athanasius to the bishopric of Alexandria. The oriental delegates withdrew from the council of Sardica and formed a rival council at Philippopolis or Thrace. Here Athanasius was again condemned and banished. He now became a fugitive in the African desert and finally passed up the Nile to the limit of the Roman province of Africa, making his way alone in a little boat. In these movements the emperor Constantius was the chief instigator and saw that the decision of the council was carried out. In 350 Constantius became sole ruler of the Roman empire and undertook the task which his father had taken up before him, of unifying the religion of the empire. This task was growing more and more difficult as party strife grew more intense. An assembly was summoned at Arles, and afterwards at Milan in 355, where the bishops finally consented to the *Sirmian formula* which was adopted by the Great Synod of Sermium in 351 and which was a compromise measure, semi-Arian in effect.

Peace was obtained by the banishment of all who were opposed. Again was Athanasius banished. While the controversy over minor points was still going on in the east, the emperor, Constantius, died (361) and was succeeded by Julian, known in history as the Apostate (incorrectly). This brought about a complete change in the attitude of all partisans and marks the close of the first period of the controversy.

The second period of the Arian controversy opened with the beginning of the reign of Julian who was opposed to Christianity, as we have seen, but granted equal freedom to all the warring sects and parties, thinking it good policy on his part to let them war upon each other. For this reason he recalled all the banished leaders of every party. Among this body of homecomers was Athanasius, a man now verging on to seventy years of age, who had for something over forty years led the warring theologians on the *Homoousian* side. He immediately went to work to unite all the parties that were in any degree opposed to Arianism, hoping by this means to unite Christians again into an orthodox party. Julian, perceiving his zeal in this matter and fearing the outcome, banished him again. Julian, however, died the following year, and Jovian, who succeeded him, favored the Trinitarians and recalled Athanasius. But he scarcely reached Alexandria before he was again banished by the emperor Valens. This exile, however, lasted but four months when he was permitted to return to Alexandria where he lived out his remaining days in peace. During these years he wrote his books on the defense of the Trinity. His writings for the next five hundred years were read more than were those of any other Christian writer save St. Augustine's, but they finally suffered the fate of all other controversial writing. They have perished just as completely as if no page existed. The few antiquarians who have read them wonder what so much thrashing of the empty air was all about. Athanasius was but twenty-seven when the council of Nicaea met. He died in 373, having outlived every prominent man in the council and passed through the reigns of four emperors. He knew more than any other living man of

the ups and downs of the controversy and it is, no doubt, due to his tenacity of life and of purpose that the Trinitarians or Homoousians triumphed in the struggle and made their views orthodox. We have no record of Athanasius ever converting a heathen or barbarian to the acceptance of Jesus Christ throughout the seventy-five years of his strenuous life, while during that same period Ulfilas, though a hated Arian, succeeded in converting to Christianity the great Gothic nations. This illustrates, as nothing else, the value of controversy in religion.

For many years after the death of Athanasius, Arianism was popular in Constantinople where it was favored by the emperor. But when Valentinian I, who was elevated to the imperial dignity by the soldiers, succeeded Jovian (364–375), he entered upon the empire of the West and gave over that of the East to his brother Valens (364–378). Valentinian I attached himself to the Trinitarians while his brother Valens upheld the Arians in the East. He had been baptized by the Arian bishop Eudoxius of Constantinople and had ever been his firm friend. It was but natural that he would adhere to this faith and try to make it supreme as Constantius had done before him. He did not interfere with Athanasius, but when he died (373) his orthodox successor, Peter, was deposed and Lucius was elevated to the bishop's seat, and the orthodox monks of Egypt were persecuted. But the Arians, even with the support of the emperor, were scarcely holding their own in the East owing to lack of unity and common purpose. Valens fell in battle with the Visigoths, in 378, and with him Arian support fell away. Gratian, who became emperor in the West upon the death of Valentinian I (375), was an adherent of orthodoxy, and, when Valens died, recalled all bishops and began the unification of the church on the basis of the Nicene symbol. The rulers, Gratian and Theodosius the Spaniard, who had been elevated by Gratian to a share in the empire, now united to bring about unity. They issued the conjoint edicts of 380 and 381, which suppressed Arianism throughout the empire and confiscated the church property of the Arians in the city of Constantinople. The Synod of Constantinople,

called in 381 and attended by the bishops of the eastern half of the empire, confirmed the action of the Nicene council. But trouble was still on in the western part of the empire where Justina, the widow of Valentinian I, as regent for her infant son, Valentinian II, was an earnest Arian and sought to maintain Arianism. This struggle went on until her death, in 388, when Justinian II went over to the orthodox side and Arianism gradually perished within the boundaries of the Roman Empire. Thus it came to pass that orthodoxy was established after a struggle of more than sixty years. Professor Moeller thus summarizes:

“After the emancipation of the church by Constantine had led to its recognition by the State, and, as a consequence, it had become one of the most important institutions of the empire, under these historical circumstances the result *that among the conflicting party confessions only the one which was regarded as orthodox received State protection and recognition*: the unity of belief of the church, protected by State resources, was maintained by the suppression of the parties holding other beliefs, so far as they sought to give themselves a distinct character in worship and constitution, and heresy in this became a crime prosecuted by the State.”

Scarcely had the empire settled down to a state of peace after the Arian controversy had been disposed of and the Trinitarian dogma adopted than there arose a discussion concerning the nature of Christ; whether Jesus, while here on earth, had a divine nature or a human nature, or a divine and human nature. It is really another side of the same old problem which led up to and embraced Arianism. It is the mystic side, and the man who brought it to the front again was Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, who believed that the faith of the church concerning the nature of Christ had within it certain pagan and Judaistic elements. Plato taught a sort of three-fold nature in man, a division into *soma* (body) animal or vital soul (*psyche*), and intellectual or rational spirit (*nous*). Apollinaris took up this thought and founded upon it a real incarnation of God on the basis of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. In the Person of Christ the divine Logos took the place of the human spirit

or reason in ordinary man and performed the office of the human soul. Thus the human flesh and soul of man were assumed but not the spirit on the ground that the union of full divinity and humanity in one was impossible. Apollinaris discarded the idea of growth in wisdom and grace as set forth in Luke, but considered his humanity as really complete. According to him the divine is all that is active in Jesus, while the human is only the organ for containing and revealing the divine. In this he ran so close to the Docetic idea that he was accused of holding their views. Many in the east adopted the views of Apollinaris, but they were condemned by a council at Alexandria in the year 362, and again with emphasis in the second ecumenical council of Constantinople, summoned by Theodosius the Great in 381. Apollinaris withdrew from the church in 375 and died in 390, still holding firmly to his views; a most pious and learned man.

The discussion of the doctrine of Apollinaris brings us to the open door of the second great controversy concerning the nature and attributes of Christ. We have already found a definition to Christ's *divine nature* in the Arian controversy and his *human nature* in the answer to the *Docetae*. The next question that arose was concerned with the active relations that existed between the divine and human elements in Christ, and their practical adjustment and harmony. This question was started first by Origen. The orthodox bishops in refuting Arius, contended that the Logos must be united to the *human soul*. Apollinaris maintained that Christ had not assumed a *rational soul*, but his opponents replied that every portion of man had been freed from the bondage of sin and that Christ in perfecting this was obliged to take upon himself a complete and perfect human nature; otherwise "the most noble portion of man, his rational soul, would not have been redeemed." There now arose two schools of thought upon this issue, or rather two old and respected schools, that of Antioch and that of Alexandria, took different sides upon this question. The Antiochian school which had always been distinguished as rational and analytic, held to the view which magnified the

human nature of Christ and insisted upon the abiding distinction between the divine and the human nature, each retaining its own separate individuality. The chief advocates of this school of thought were Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople. The Alexandrian school insisted primarily upon the intimate union of the divine and human natures in Christ, and the difference in kind between the fact of God's becoming man and a mere influence. Of this school of thought Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, and Eutyches, abbot of a monastery at Constantinople, were the leaders.

Nestorius was born in Germanica in Syria, of a good family and received every advantage of education. After having mastered the rudiments of an education embracing thorough training in Greek and the elements of Latin, he was sent to Antioch, where he became a pupil of Theodore of Mopsuestia and was associated with John, afterwards patriarch of Antioch, and Theodoret of Cyrus. He was a brilliant student, gifted with a talent for eloquence, and possessed a stock of learning both varied and extensive, though somewhat shallow. He was, moreover, ambitious and proud beyond measure, all of which was covered over with a cloak of holy zeal. This arrogant disposition cropped out at his inauguration, when with a presumption unheard of before, he addressed the emperor, Theodosius, in the following words: "Oh, prince, drive heretics from the empire, and I will grant to thee the kingdom of heaven; strengthen my hands in putting down the enemies of the church, and I will aid you in conquering the Persians." He arrayed himself against the few remaining advocates of Arianism, and the followers of Apollinaris and while doing this in his righteous enthusiasm, himself became entangled in the meshes of heresy. The first man to sow the seeds of Nestorianism was Leparius, a monk of Gaul, who afterwards received the order of priesthood at Carthage. He asserted that "In Christ are two entirely independent elements; that the *divine element belonged only to the Logos and the human only to the man Jesus.*" Nestorius had promised the people of his community a clearer explanation of the nature

of the Son of God than they had yet received. This task he entrusted to Anastasius, a recently ordained priest of Constantinople. In a sermon preached in the presence of Nestorius, in Advent 428, Anastasius objected to the title of Mother of God (*Theotokos*) as inapplicable to the Blessed Virgin Mary. He said: "Let no one designate the Blessed Virgin as 'Mother of God.' Mary was merely human, and God can not be born of a human creature." This sermon created a great disturbance and instead of soothing the excited people and suppressing the controversy, Nestorius preached several sermons in which he advocated without modification the view which had been set forth by Anastasius. He maintained that the Blessed Virgin should be called the "Mother of Christ" (*Christotokos*); that he who had been born of her, bore in his person the Divinity, or had received God within himself, "Because God dwelt in Him as in a temple." In brief, Nestorius held that the Incarnation meant no more than an indwelling of God the Word in the man Jesus; and that God had not truly been made man; that there *were two persons entirely distinct and separate*; between whom there existed merely a moral union. These views were those of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the teacher of Nestorius, and his many disciples spread them over the East very rapidly. They also reached the West. Lively opposition sprang up everywhere. Among the monks of Egypt a violent controversy sprang up, frequently argued with clubs, as to whether the title of Mother of God should or should not be allowed.

The turmoil over the sermons of Nestorius did not confine itself to the city of Constantinople and a body of monks, but it spread throughout the eastern churches and came to the notice of Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria. He saw in the views of Nestorius a dangerous heresy, and hastened to take the matter up. Cyril was the nephew of that Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, who had been a leader in the persecution of John Chrysostom, and succeeded him in the office. In character he was haughty and thoroughly unscrupulous, like his uncle, an enemy of Chrysostom. He was just the kind of a man to continue the jealousy and animosity which he had received from Theophilus toward Con-

stantinople. From the time he entered upon the duties of the See of Alexandria until his death, not a Christian act has been reported of him, but intrigue, arrogance, and rapacity; barbarity, persecution, and murder have filled up many pages and caused Christians of all ages to blush with shame. His first act was the persecution of the Novatians. "He closed all the churches of the Novatians, seized and confiscated their sacred treasures; and stripped the bishop of all his possessions. He persecuted and murdered the wealthy Jews of Alexandria and appropriated their vast wealth to his own uses; made of it a store-house for bribery. He used the war-like Nitrian monks to intimidate the governor of the city in order that he might rule by mob violence. He was in all probability mixed up in the brutal murder of Hypatia. This is the man who now came forward as the accuser of Nestorius and the champion of pure Christian doctrine. His views were set forth in a statement to the Egyptian monks concerning the title 'Mother of God.'" "As the mother of a man is the mother, not simply of his body, but of his entire person, notwithstanding that his soul comes from another source — as she gives birth not only to the body of the man but to the whole complex individual, composed essentially of a true union of body and soul; so also the Blessed Virgin Mary, who, although she did not in any sense give birth to the Divinity, by which the Word is equal to the Father, is nevertheless truly and really the Mother of the Word, because the flesh of the Word was formed in her womb, and she brought into the world the Person of the Eternal Word, who was clothed with our nature."

Perjury, bribery, insult, and force marked every stage in this "Battle of Christians" to settle the nature of Jesus who made purity of heart the one requisite for entrance into the Kingdom of God. The Emperor Theodosius II, who was in sympathy with Nestorius, summoned the fourth general council, that of Ephesus, in 431, for the settlement of the questions at issue. This council was much like the other ecumenical councils, a thoroughly partisan affair with no thought of a fair and impartial discussion of the questions

at issue, but merely for one party to gain a victory over the other regardless of means made use of. Cyril arrived early with all the Egyptian bishops in his train. He was, moreover, supported by the populace and the monks. The bishop of Ephesus was also a warm partizan of Cyril. John, Archbishop of Antioch, together with the bishops of his See, were delayed by bad weather, and impassable roads, and could not reach Ephesus in the time set for the council. Cyril determined to go ahead without these bishops and so commenced work with two hundred bishops in attendance, mostly from Egypt and the West. The council finished its work in a single day, not going into the discussion at all but merely confirming the actions of Celestine, Bishop of Rome, and Cyril of Alexandria. They deposed Nestorius and excommunicated him. Six days later John of Antioch arrived and immediately called together a rival council of forty-six bishops. Prior to this Nestorius had appealed to the emperor, who, through his commissioner, declared the acts of the council invalid, owing to the absence of some of the bishops. This rival council, now sitting, instead of awaiting the action of the emperor in summoning a new council, proceeded to depose Cyril, and Momnus, bishop of Ephesus, and excommunicate them. Each party now appealed to the emperor as the only power that could enforce an ecclesiastical decision as "This law now centered in the person of the Emperor, who was the State; the apparent identification of the State and Church by the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the Empire altogether confounded the limits of ecclesiastical and temporal jurisdiction. The dominant party, when it could obtain the support of the civil power for the execution of its intolerant edicts, was blind to the dangers and un-Christian principle which it tended to establish. As the Council met under the Imperial Authority, so it seemed to commit the Imperial Authority to enforce its decisions." (Milman.) The emperor being called upon to arbitrate, directed that each party should choose eight delegates and send them to Chalcedon as deputies to represent their respective claims by word of mouth in his presence. This council was unable to ad-

jour and the emperor finally dismissed it, giving, however, his sanction to the banishment of Nestorius in hopes thereby to settle the controversy. Theodoret of Cyrus, backed by other defenders of Nestorius, presented as a defense of their position a new confession of faith which was but a slightly modified statement of the Nestorian creed. Cyril, having bought his way to freedom from the charge of heresy, signed this new confession and other members of his party followed suit, declaring it to be their creed. John of Antioch, leader of the Nestorian party, sanctioned the banishment of Nestorius in order to bring peace, but Theodoret held aloof and claimed that this was unjust. The gist of the new confession, according to Neander, is: "The only Christ consists of two natures ever to be distinguished in respect to their individuality, united with each other in a *personal* unity, without confusion and without transformation." This compromise held to the death of Cyril in 444. He had been able to escape by means of bribery and fraud the fate of his more unfortunate rival, Nestorius, who died in exile in the Thebaid in 440.

Theodorus II may have thought that by the vague compromise of 443 he had secured the peace of the empire, but this was not the case. The Antiochian and Alexandrian parties with their opposing Christological conceptions ceased not to quarrel and intrigue. This contention broke out into open and passionate strife when Dioscurus, the new bishop of Alexandria, complained of the growing power of the Nestorians and pressed upon the emperor the deposition of Bishop Irenaeus of Tyre, on the charge that he was teaching the Antiochene views. Opposed to Dioscurus stood Bishop Domnus of Antioch and Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, who was the most able man of his day. As previously stated, Theodoret refused to give his assent to the condemnation of Nestorius. Because of this stubbornness on his part and the influence which he might have, the emperor, at the instigation of Dioscurus, commanded Theodoret to remain in his own diocese and not to come to Antioch, where he was accustomed to preach and to give active aid to his party. He now turned to writing and published three dialogues

under the title "Eranistis," in which he gives great emphasis to the unchangeableness of God which was also to be maintained in the doctrine of the Incarnation, and fights against the mingling of the two natures, and the degradation of the divine nature in suffering and human affections. The Alexandrian school could hardly be expected to let this open challenge go unheeded. Eutyches, an archimandrite of Constantinople and great personal friend of Cyril and advocate of his views, took up the cause of the Alexandrians. He first undertook to interest Leo, Pope of Rome, against the Antiochines on the ground that they were Nestorians. He then proceeded to set forth what he deemed to be the orthodox views as follows: "Christ indeed arose out of two distinct natures, but after the union *one* nature only is to be *confessed*. The humanity of the Logos of God is so permeated and appropriated by the divinity that even the body of Christ is not to be regarded as of *one nature with ours*." This, like Cyril's views, can not be considered far removed from the confession of Apollinaris who had been condemned as a heretic. Domnus of Antioch denounced Eutyches to the emperor, but without effect. Then Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum, an old time friend and champion of Cyril, who might be considered an Alexandrian, accused Eutyches before the bishop of Constantinople. Flavian, who was an old pupil of the Antiochian school, was unwilling to take the matter up because of the fiery fanaticism of the Alexandrians, but finally called a local synod at Constantinople in 448. Eutyches was here condemned as a heretic, but he had back of him the imperial court as well as Dioscurus of Alexandria. The latter now interfered and with the aid of the Empress obtained a revision of his case in a new Synod at Constantinople, in 449, but this only confirmed the previous judgment. Dioscurus, who had the Empress' ear, now demanded the summoning of an ecumenical council. This was opposed by the bishop of Constantinople and the bishop of Rome, but without avail. Theodosius summoned a general council to meet at Ephesus in August, 449. This was presided over by Dioscurus, who had bestowed upon him plenary powers. Absolutely no dis-

cussion was allowed. Eusebius, who had brought the charges against Eutyches, was condemned and banished, while Eutyches was restored to the church and to his offices. Flavian was deposed and driven into banishment and was so badly abused that he died of his wounds within three days. All the leaders of the Antiochene party were deposed and the writings of Theodoret ordered burned by the emperor. So ended the Robber Synod, the most disgraceful assemblage of Christians that was ever held.

Theodosius II died in 450, and was succeeded by his sister Puecheria and her husband Marcian, ruling conjointly. Marcian was a born soldier, used to camps rather than drawing rooms. He knew nothing of theology and less of metaphysics, but he loved Roman justice. He called the fourth ecumenical council to meet at Chalcedon, in 451. The council met at the appointed time, quashed the Robber Synod, deposed Dioscurus for his acts of violence, cleared Theodoret of the charge of heresy, and admitted him to take part in the council. It adopted a new creed upon the question of the nature of Christ, the gist of which is as follows: "*Two natures in one person, united without confusion, change, division, or separation; the properties of each nature being preserved.*"

The decision of Chalcedon brought no peace to the church, as views are rarely changed either by debate or suppression. The defeated theologians went home to stir up the people against the action of the council. The Roman bishops adhered to the doctrine of the two natures in Christ, while throughout the East the prevailing view was that of the Monophysites. Felix II of Rome refused to have church fellowship with Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, because he adhered to the Alexandrian views. This caused a schism of thirty-five years' standing between the East and the West. It is a sad, but somewhat amusing comment, on the mutability of opinions in this long struggle, that Celestine, Bishop of Rome, condemned the opinions of Nestorius and sided with Cyril of Alexandria. Leo I, Bishop of Rome, sided with Theodoret and condemned Eutyches. Yet Nestorius and Theodoret were in practical accord, and Cyril

and Eutyches championed the same views. The council of Chalcedon condemned Eutyches but established the orthodoxy of both Cyril and Theodoret, not because they agreed, but because the bishops at the council were unwilling or afraid to condemn the views of the Bishop of Rome.

In the reign of Justinian a pronounced effort was put forth to harmonize the opposing factions, and bring the Monophysites back into the Catholic church. For this purpose Justinian summoned the fifth ecumenical council at Constantinople in 553. It reached conclusions quite in harmony with those of the four councils at Chalcedon, and, therefore, against the Monophysites, and in favor of the two natures of Christ. The Monophysites were now finally condemned but kept up a vigorous party in Egypt and outside of the empire. Thus we have through this struggle two strong sects established outside of the church, each warring against the orthodox body and against each other.

The church had peace for a short time only, when the old Monophysite controversy came into prominence in a new form. The emperor Heraclius (611-641) was anxious to secure the return of the Monophysites to the orthodox church and, in 622, held a conference with several leaders of the heretical party. These informed him that in all probability the great body of their members would return to fellowship with the Greek church if a proposition were presented that "in Jesus Christ there was, after the union of the two natures, but one will and operation." The emperor took it upon himself to issue an edict to that effect. This was looked upon as an imperial recognition of monothylitism and many Monophysites returned to communion with the orthodox church. But it was not long before trouble arose over the new question. Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, wrote a letter to Honorius, Bishop of Rome (625-638) explaining the Monothelite doctrines and received from Honorius a letter in which he committed himself to this same view, explicitly declaring for the one will in Jesus Christ. The controversy spread and grew more intense from day to day. Pope Martin called a synod at Rome in 649 and condemned the imperial edicts that had been

issued recognizing the Monothelite doctrine, and also condemned the emperors for issuing them. Constans II ordered Martin to be sent to Constantinople, where he was taken in chains. He was banished to the Chersonesus and there died six years afterwards. When Constantius Pogonatus came to the throne, upon the death of Constans II, the rage of the contending parties broke out afresh, and to settle the disturbance, if possible, the emperor summoned a sixth ecumenical council at Constantinople, in the imperial palace in 680. This council is known in history as the first Trullan council because of the resemblance of the hall in which they sat to a mussel. At this council the emperor presided in person. Here the decisions of the Nicene Council were reaffirmed. After this preliminary step to prove their own orthodoxy, they declared that Jesus Christ had two natures, a divine and human, and two wills, a divine and human. Pope Leo II addressed a letter to the emperor in which he approved the action of the council. The Monothelites were duly anathematized and so ended, in so far as imperial or ecclesiastical action was concerned, the great Christological conflict which had occupied the thought and activity of the church for two hundred and fifty years.

CHAPTER XVIII

SAINT AUGUSTINE

THERE is no place in history where racial characteristics come out more forcibly and clearly than in the controversies that arose in the Christian church in the first four centuries of its existence. There were certain groups of doctrinal questions which agitated particular regions and utterly failed to attract the attention of others. The Greek mind was speculative and philosophical. The Greeks either originated or developed every philosophical school of antiquity. The Romans never created any philosophy. At the best they but copied the philosophical systems of the Greeks. The Roman mind was methodical and practical in the extreme. Only practical subjects had any interest to them. No Roman took an active part in any one of the Christological controversies that so stirred the Greek Christian world for more than three hundred years. All the questions which related to the divinity, person, or nature of Christ were of profound interest to the Greeks of the Eastern world. To the Latins of the West these problems were scarcely worth consideration and had Christianity passed to the West without first passing through Greece and being saturated with Greek thought, it is reasonably certain that the world would never have heard of the Trinity or the two natures or the two wills of Christ, as mere speculative philosophy and metaphysics were utterly beyond the reach of the Roman mind. On the other hand the questions of man's moral condition and his part in his own salvation were very early of profound interest throughout the West, and Roman scholars and theologians took the lead in their discussion, while the East had no interest in these themes. The view which predominated throughout the east was that man was a free moral agent and had a large share in work-

ing out his own salvation. The corruption of human nature and the need of God's grace for salvation were generally admitted. Most all the teachers of the East that were classed as gnostics held that there were certain evils in human nature and that by reason of these inherited infirmities man's disposition was warped and deformed, yet he was at liberty to choose salvation and was responsible for neglecting the offer of divine grace. Both the Alexandrian and Antiochian schools taught the inheritance of sin from the fall of Adam, but would not grant the original depravity of human nature. They admitted that in man there was an original element of evil, but that his salvation was to be effected by the grace of God. Chrysostom strenuously and eloquently denied the guilty nature of man by birth, and admitted his guilt only by virtue of his own sinful acts. Passing now to the Western view, we find that the first man to be led into the field of controversy was Hilary of Poitiers, who was made bishop of his native city in 350. He was banished for the part he took in the Arian controversy, in 356, to the Asiatic Provinces, where he gave his attention to the study of the Greek language and literature. Subsequently he returned to his old home and wrote a book against the Arians and commentations on portions of the Gospels, following Origen. These works were written in Latin, thus making the Latin-speaking peoples familiar with the themes which agitated the East. He believed that a sinful propensity cleaved to all mankind from Adam, and that, therefore, all men needed forgiveness. He followed Chrysostom in teaching the complete freedom of the will. Ambrose is generally known as the predecessor of Augustine. His training in theology was wholly Greek though he was by birth a Roman patrician and carefully educated in Latin. He spent his time to middle life in the affairs of state and was only called to the bishopric of Milan by a sudden exigency and the unanimous vote of the church community. He made himself familiar with Greek theology and followed the course of Hilary in making Origen his patron in the allegorical interpretation of Scripture and, in his method, harks back to Philo as did all the members of the Alexandrian

school. He was a man of robust character and intellect, thoroughly Latin in temper, with the pride, gravity, and dignity of an old Roman senator. In church discipline he was governed by monastic views and in doctrine he was the forerunner of Augustine, holding the doctrine of universal sinfulness as an inheritance from Adam. He held the grace of God to be the all-sufficient cause of every conversion. Man to be saved must accept this grace without reservation and is not in any way associated with the grace of God in working out this result, but is morally helpless. The great representative of this view was Tertullian, but he must not be considered as the originator of this doctrine.

Aurelius Augustine was a native of Tagasti in Numidia. He was born in the year 354 at a time when the Roman Empire was hastening on to its fall. His parents were apparently in good circumstances if not wealthy, and gave their brilliant son the education of a Roman gentleman. He was a youth of exceptional talents and drank in instruction in everything which was at that time regarded as included in a liberal education, but he formed an intense hatred for mathematics and astronomy, a by no means uncommon thing for a young man whose tastes are all literary and speculative. Having finished his preliminary studies, his parents sent him to Carthage to continue his education in the celebrated schools of that city. Here he took up the professional study of classical literature and rhetoric in order to fit himself as a forensic orator and teacher. His training was much the same as that of Tertullian, and in the same school, save that he did not take up the study of Roman law. It is said his study of Cicero's *Hortensius*, which he read with avidity, kept him from its sensuous life and stored within him a yearning after higher truth and wisdom that would satisfy his mind and heart. There was mixed in with this, perhaps, a quickening of his spiritual nature, which, though dormant for a time, had been sedulously cultivated by his talented and religious mother. This he subsequently considered as his first step towards God. He took up the study of the Scriptures with all the fervor of his nature, but they seemed too common and simple to

attract him and he passed on to the study of Aristotle's doctrine of the Categories. But he was restless and dissatisfied, being spurred on by the thirst for truth which would satisfy his religious nature. At this stage he fell in with the sect of the Manichees, who were wide-spread in the north African province. Their strictness of life made a great impression upon him and their mysterious seclusion excited his curiosity and allured him by the promise which they made of a deeper knowledge of truth. He was now merely a brilliant and passionate boy of nineteen and for the next nine years he became a member of this community as auditor or catechumen with the prospect before him of a final initiation into the full secrets of the truth after which he so ardently longed. His growing intelligence finally weaned him from this society or some of their doubtful actions undeceived him, and he fell back into a period of scepticism, perfectly natural under the conditions. Next he became a Neo-Platonist and studied with all his energy the spiritual philosophy of that prince of all thinkers. In this idealistic religious philosophy which had won for a time so strong a hold upon the Alexandrian school, and had for its leader that beautiful but ill-fated Hypatia, he found his way back again to an awakened faith in God and objective truth. A new world of thought was revealed to him. The dualism of the Manichees which he had held to for nine years he now combated by means of Platonic Monism, which recognized the good only as substantial and truly existent, while evil is a mere negative, the relative absence of good. Augustine began his professional work as a rhetorician in his native city of Tagosti. After having taught here for some years with much success, he went to Carthage, and thence to Rome, where he remained for a year only, when he proceeded to Milan, in 384. He now looked upon Christianity as a sort of substitute for philosophy and a good thing for the common man: the great uneducated mass of humanity. As a pastime while engaged in the professional labor of the rhetorician he took up the epistles of Paul and was at once attracted by their form and beauty. He went to hear Ambrose preach on Sunday, being attracted by his reputa-

tion for eloquence. He was much affected by the force of the Christian appeal. After listening to the sermon he conversed with a friend in the afternoon upon the writings of Paul. While strolling in the garden in much agitation of spirit, he suddenly heard a voice saying: "Tolle lege; tolle lege"; "Take read; take read." At first he supposed that some child was playing a game, and repeating these words; then it suddenly struck him that the voice was the voice of an angel. "So checking my tears, I rose, judging it to be nothing else but a command to read the first words of the epistles of Paul I should find on opening. For, I had heard of thy servant Antony, that coming in while the gospel was read he took it as a warning to himself. *Go sell all that thou hast and give it to the poor, and come follow me;* and by that word was at once turned to thee. Eagerly then I returned to where my friend sat, where I had left the volume when I came away. I took it, opened it, and read silently the words my eye first rested on; *Let us walk honestly as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in lewdness and debauchery, not in strife and jealousy; but put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to satisfy its lusts.* I read no more and had no need of more; for instantly at the end of this sentence, a calm light, as it were, entered my heart, and all the darkness of doubt passed away."

This was no Pauline conversion. It was rather a purely moral conversion,—a change of sentiment, emotion, and will. There is no mention of any change of opinion or of the solution of any intellectual doubt that had heretofore troubled him. It seems to have been "a recoil against the whole theory of life which he had been living hitherto." Shortly after this event he was baptized by Ambrose, in 387. His natural son Adeodatus was baptized at the same time. The following year he returned to Africa, where he was convinced that his field of labor lay. He lived in moral retirement, taking up the monastic life in a village but a short way distant from Carthage to the south. He went from here to Hippo Regius to assist for a time the aged bishop and was here made a presbyter much against his

will, in 392, and upon the death of the bishop in 395, he was chosen to fill the vacant chair. He much preferred the monastic life in association with the brothers that were members of the new order which he had founded. But the duty was brought home to him so forcibly that he finally consented to accept the office, and entered upon its duties with the same enthusiasm which he had shown in all his undertakings. From this time to his death in 430, his life was devoted to the church and he became its champion in every cause that needed him. He immediately entered into conflict with the Donatists over the question of the proper election of a Bishop of Carthage. This trouble arose in 311, upon the death of Bishop Minsurius of Carthage. Caecilian, Archdeacon of Carthage, was chosen to the vacant seat by the vote of the bishops of Proconsular Africa alone, without waiting for the bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Numidia to sanction the choice, a right which they claimed was always theirs. Bishop Felix of the city of Aptunga was called in immediately and the ceremony of consecration was somewhat hastily performed. The Numidian bishops declared the election to be illegal and an opposition party arose, held a synod of the Numidian bishops, deposed Caecilian and chose the lector Majorinus to the vacant chair. This party, after the death of Majorinus, chose Donatus as bishop, and as he was an able man and forceful champion, the party became known by his name. Constantine, who was doubly anxious to unite all warring factions, did his best to smooth out the trouble, but the church at large recognized Caecilian and the Donatists appealed to Constantine, who summoned the Synod of Arles for the first of August, 314. The judgment went against the Donatists, but they still stayed out of the regular church and continued as a sect, orthodox in belief, but in government separate. Augustine now proposed to bring this body back into the church. In the meantime the Donatists had developed views on baptism and the re-admission of the lapsed into church affiliation which were out of harmony with the orthodox views. Augustine soon found that mere arguments availed little in theological questions and was in fa-

vor of appealing to the secular powers and the penal law. The emperor, Honorius, was appealed to and he responded in 405, by fines, exile of the clergy, and the taking away of churches. But this only drove them to more active opposition. Finally a great debate was decided upon with the hope that differences of opinion would be explained away. In 411, Augustine and Bishop Aurelius of Carthage championed the Catholic side and the Donatists Primian and Petilian championed their own side in a debate in the presence of 286 Catholic and 279 Donatist bishops with an imperial commissioner as judge. The commissioner decided in favor of the Catholic party. Thereupon the emperor proceeded to the use of decisive measures against the beaten party. In 414 all civil rights were denied, and in 415 the holding of assemblies forbidden on pain of death. Little opportunity, however, was permitted the orthodox to rejoice over their victory as the Vandals were already on the road to Carthage and Gaeseric could see no difference between orthodox and Donatist. All were alike hateful to the Arian Vandal.

There is not much development of doctrine that came out of the heated conflict with the Donatists. What there was of good probably lay on the side of the Donatists. Augustine showed no special power beyond those with whom he was associated, nor did he reveal a more forgiving spirit. In his life with the Manichees and subsequently in his controversy with them was, no doubt, developed Augustine's doctrine of the origin of sin and the conflict between good and evil in human nature. Mani or Manes was born in the Babylonian city of Mardinu, in 216, the son of a noble Persian who had emigrated from Ecbatana and settled in the neighborhood of Ctesiphon. He became a member of the sect of Baptists in South Babylonia. Mani's mother was descended from a race related to the Parthians. He was, therefore, of good blood and family. It is not known what his education was, but he is said to have received religious revelations when little more than a boy. When about twenty-five years of age he was called before the Persian ruler, Schapun I, to whom he explained his religious

doctrine. He does not seem to have succeeded in making much of an impression upon Schapun for he left almost immediately for the far East, where he remained for many years travelling through China and India. He seems to have sent out many disciples, who proclaimed him as "the last and highest prophet of divine truth." He finally returned to the Persian empire, where he was successful for a time and gained many followers, but in the reign of Bohram I, he was crucified and his body flayed. A cruel persecution followed.

The doctrine of Mani was but a modification of Zoroastrianism: a simple Dualism. Light and darkness stand over against one another as good and evil. These, however, were not conceived of as ideal principles, but rather as material original elements which gradually unfold themselves into a kingdom of light and a kingdom of darkness. These two kingdoms occupy the entire universe, but border upon one another on one side. Where they come in contact there is unending strife. The darkness aspires to the light, hungers for it, engulfs or devours a portion of it, and from their contact is produced the visible world, including the nature of man. In this man the soul represents light and the body darkness. Man was thus the subject of a dual empire; his soul and body in unending strife. The conclusion of this philosophy is strangely like Paul's struggle between his flesh which is evil and his will which was good. Coming now to Augustine's religious views upon his conversion to Christianity. These were a sort of mixture of the doctrine of Mani and theism of Neo-Platonism. The view of Mani, in brief, was that the source of all evil is physical; it exists in the very nature of things. Man is subject to it because he is a part of this system of things; the conflict is fought out by vast impersonal forces. In the guidance of these forces man has no hand and, therefore, the whole system became one of a fatalism, of the most hopeless and unrelenting sort; man's destiny a plaything of natural forces. After Augustine has crept out from under the teaching and influence of the Manichees, he says in his impetuous and tragic style: "I had rather that this unchanging Substance

erred of necessity, than my own inconstant nature, by will; and that Sin befell by immutable law from heaven, that so man should be free of its guilt, while in proud corruption of flesh and blood." This revolt of Augustine's moral nature against the doctrine of the Manichees had in it the germ and key of a great spiritual revolution. "*It shifted the ground of conflict.*" It convinced him that the source of evil was not in the physical world; but, rather in the moral world.

When Augustine was called upon to defend the tenets of the Catholic church against Pelagius he formulated his own views *upon the relations between supernatural grace and free-will* with depth and passionate eloquence. His teachings were: 1. When man came from the Hand of God, he was *innocent and holy*, endowed with *free-will*, and enriched with *Divine Grace*. A harmony, unmoved by any jarring element, existed between his mental and his moral faculties. Neither was he subject to death, and the free-will with which he was endowed was an agent for *good*. But for all this, well-being and well-doing were not a *necessity of his nature*; on the contrary, he could if he would, commit sin, but, on the other hand, he need not if he would not. The law of his moral being was not '*non potuit non peccare*, but, *potuit non peccare*.'

2. When Adam, the Father and Representative of the *whole human race*, fell into sin, all mankind sinned with and in him, and all *are burdened with the consequences of his guilt*. In this fall man lost sanctifying grace, his intellect was obscured, his will weakened, his carnal nature strengthened, and his body became subject to the ills of the flesh, and passed under the dominion of death. Man, by reason of the concupiscence which was now within him, is more inclined to evil than to good, and, on this account, stands in need of some help outside of himself, some grace, by which he may be enabled to regain his former high estate, and without which he can never be fully conscious of the depth to which he has fallen. "In virtue of the merits of Christ's Redemption, man, from the beginning of his life to the end, constantly receives grace into Sanctification. First comes

sanctifying grace (*gratia justificans, sanctificans, or habitualis*) by which he is set free from sin, sanctified, and once more reinstated in the privileges of his sonship as a child of God; then follows actual grace (*gratia actualis, ad singulos actus*), which, according to different measures in which it is received and the various degrees of assistance it communicates, is called, respectively, *gratia excitans seu prae-viniens, adjuvans seu camians*, and *executiva seu consequens*. That the mere external grace of the doctrine and example of Christ is not sufficient to subdue the minds of men and efficacious for a change of life, is evident from the example of the Jews, who, besides the Law possessed both the one and the other. Nay, even by the aid of inferior supernatural grace, man finds it difficult to keep himself entirely free from sin." (From Aug. Doctrine on Supreme Grace.) In a letter addressed to Sextus, a Roman priest: "Sin must necessarily, of its very nature, work the ruin of all mankind, but God has, nevertheless, in the abundance of His mercy, *chosen* some out of this multitude *destined* to destruction — a few elect — on whom He has bestowed His grace, and granted the gift of perseverance. These are called, and are in fact, the children of God; and if they for a time stray from the way of righteousness, they will, by a law of *necessity*, again return to it, and die in grace (*praedestinati*). They are chosen, not indeed because God foresees that they will, by the unconstrained act of their free-will, correspondent with the action of grace — not because they have of themselves, any merit — but because God has, of *His own gracious pleasure* seen fit to set them apart, and predestine them to eternal life."

3. Again: there are others, *abandoned* of God, whom He visits with His justice. These are necessarily last, not because they could not work out their salvation if they would, but because they place their happiness and joy in evil-doing. It is only left to man to adore the *inscrutable designs* of God, whether in the gracious exercise of His mercy toward *the former*, or in the visitations of His justice upon *the latter*. Augustine speaks of a *second* predestination, and to point out the difference between the two, He says: "In

the case of the latter, God does not act as a Father (*auctor*), but as a Just Avenger, and to express, as it was the line of conduct which God pursues with regard to these, he employs, *instead of Predestination, Foreknowledge of God.*" In his later writings against the Pelagians Augustine declares that "man lies *under the necessity of committing sin,*" and that he is also "*under the constraining power of grace.*" He thus leaves no place whatever for man's free-will, but forces "the deepened conception of Christian salvation, as the *converting effect of divine grace on sinful man.*" Augustine holds, like Origen, that *faith* must precede *knowledge* and is the way to it, but he also holds that it is a duty to advance through *faith* to *knowledge* and insight. As God is Himself the highest object of faith, He is also the proper and highest aim of all *knowledge*. Here he shows the influence of the study of Platonic philosophy. Now, the meaning of all this Augustinian theology is best brought out by placing the views of Pelagius alongside of them.

The most powerful champion for the freedom of the human will against the Augustinian view was Pelagius, a monk of Britain. Little or nothing is known of the birth and education of Pelagius other than that he was well acquainted with Greek theology and a thorough master of both Latin and Greek. He had conformed his life to the strictest rules of monasticism, and when, in about 400, he made his way to Rome, he was accepted on friendly terms with eminent men such as Paulinus of Nola, Sulpicius Severus and also Rufinus. As a man of pure life and a zealous monk, Pelagius was thoroughly scandalized at the wide-spread laxity and indolence which he found in Rome among Christians "who enjoyed the gifts of Christian grace without energetic moral effort, and excused themselves by reason of human frailty." In opposition to this slothfulness and all lack of effort Pelagius undertook to awaken the feeling of moral responsibility in the hearts of the Roman people. He taught as a fundamental tenet that "God required *nothing impossible from man*, as the sinner's own consciousness of guilt attested." "If I *ought*, I *can*," is the slogan of Pelagius. The following is a summary of his doctrines:

1. *Adam's* fall injured only himself. The propagation of *original sin* is inconsistent with the goodness and justice of God. Every man is born into this world with precisely the same corporeal and spiritual endowments — with an *unobscured* reason and a free-will by which he may at all times do either good or evil. The existence of a *conscience* is a proof that the voice of God still speaks to mankind with its wonted fullness and distinctness.

2. The death of the body was from the beginning ordained of God, and hence, if Adam had not fallen, something of the kind would have taken place in the natural order of things. Toil, against which all mankind are obliged to struggle, owes its origin to the force of example and the words of the Apostle, "in Adam all have sinned," are to be understood as meaning only that all are more or less under the influence of Adam's example, and imitate him in committing sin; whereas, they might just as well, if they had had a mind to make good use of their natural faculties and endowments, avoid committing sin altogether, for, like Adam, they are born *free from sin and without virtue*.

3. *Grace* — that is, the natural capacity for moral excellence — and free-will, or the power to abstain from committing sin, are sufficient of themselves to overcome every evil inclination. As a proper subject for the exercise of these faculties, the Law was given to the Jews; to the Christians, the edifying examples of our Savior. This adequacy of human means, ordained by Divine appointment to a supernatural end, Pelagius called *grace*, and hence he asserted that God's *grace* is necessary under all circumstances; he denied the necessity of *grace* in the Augustinian sense, just as his colleague, Caecilius, denied *original sin*.

4. All men have the natural power of *acquiring moral excellence*, but this faculty is always in proportion to *each one's merit*, and the proper use one makes of *his natural gifts*. The Christians, because of the better use they make of the natural powers with which they are all endowed, *possess this faculty in a higher degree than the Pagans*.

5. All natural and supernatural graces are attached to the *Sacrament of Baptism* which works forgiveness of sins

in *adults*, but in infants it is only a means of strengthening the power of *free-will*, while in both these cases it is a condition of admission into the *Kingdom of Heaven*, which Christ promised only to such as had been *cleansed* by the waters of *Baptism*. Children who die without baptism and Jews and Pagans who led blameless lives, will enjoy *life eternal*.

After having preached for some time in Rome with marked success, Pelagius, in company with one of his converts, Caecilius, a Roman lawyer of ability, set out for Africa, in 411. Pelagius tarried here only for a short time when he continued his journey to Palestine, while Caecilius remained in Africa, where he was created a presbyter and received with honor. But soon he was accused of heresy and a synod held in Carthage, in 412, condemned his views and excommunicated him.

Pelagius found favor in Palestine, where he became a champion of the views of Origen in the controversy that was now going on over that writer's views over the nature of Christ. At the synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis, in 415, the views of Pelagius were carefully reviewed, with the advantage of his own explanations, and he was cleared of heresy by both Synods. The Greeks who busied themselves with Christological themes saw nothing in the Pelagian controversy to interest them and, in fact, were friendly towards Pelagius' doctrine of free-will. The justification of Pelagius by the two prominent synods of the east was confirmed by Jossinus, Bishop of Rome, in 417, who, after a formal hearing of Pelagius, declares him to be a man of unimpeachable orthodoxy. But the Africans were not satisfied. They were strenuously opposed to the Pelagian views and at a synod of Carthage in 416, condemned Pelagius. This condemnation was affirmed by a synod held at Mileum in Numidia in the same year, and at a full council of the African church in Carthage, in 418. At the ecumenical council of Ephesus, in 431, Pelagius was condemned along with Nestorius, but there was no mention of any heresies of Pelagius or what he was condemned for. It was an ecclesiastical trade between Cyril and the Pope of Rome. Pelagius now returned from the conflict back to his monastery in Devon and we hear

no more of him. It is to be hoped that the sweetness of his temper and the true quality of his spirit continued to the end. He, no doubt, thought himself defeated in his effort to do good, but if his spirit is still permitted to look over the field fifteen hundred years after his missionary journey to Rome and Carthage, he will know that after all has been said, he bore to mankind a better message than did his sundry eloquent, dogmatic, and arbitrary opponents.

Turning our attention from the victorious Augustinian theology which is now firmly seated in the West for the next thousand years let us examine another phase of the life of this "Greatest of the Church Fathers." Augustine's theology was prodigiously popular throughout western Europe and took possession of the developing church because it best interpreted the life of the age. That age was unthinking and ignorant; the Roman empire was rapidly falling to pieces; Barbarians were pushing in and taking possession of the settled homes of the old civilization; poetry and art were dead; literature was of the past; gloom curtained the western world. Superstition had always been forceful in Rome. As the population became more mixed new and fanciful beliefs were introduced each with its train of nixies, ghosts, and devils, and Christianity conquered the multitudinous gods of Rome only to increase the host of malignant spirits and demons that walked the night and rode the storms; that worked magic and took possession of people as described in the picturesque language of the New Testament. They did not free men from superstitions and foolish imaginings. For two centuries after Justin Martyr, there is not a single Christian writer who does not solemnly and explicitly assert the reality and frequent employment of exorcism, and nearly every church had an officer whose business it was to cast out devils. Josephus assures us that he had himself, in the reign of Vespasian, seen a Jew named Eliazer "drawing by means of exorcism, a demon through the nostrils of a possessed person, who fell to the ground at the accomplishment of the miracle; while, upon the command of the magician, the devil, to prove that he had really left his victim, threw down a cup of water which had been placed at a distance."

Christians bore testimony to the power possessed by Jewish and Gentile exorcists, but claimed they had superior powers. "By the sign of the cross or the repetition of the name of Jesus Christ they had professed to be able to cast out devils which had resisted all the enchantments of Pagan exorcists, to silence the oracles, and to compel the demons to confess the truth of the Christian faith." Their power even went farther than this, for demons were believed to enter animals and these were also expelled by the Christian adjuration. No less a person than Jerome has given us a very graphic account of the courage displayed by Saint Hilonian in casting out a devil from a possessed camel. Miracles of the crudest kind, other than those of exorcism, were reported by the church Fathers and implicitly believed by the masses. Irenaeus assures us that "all Christians possessed the power of working miracles; that they prophesied, cast out devils, healed the sick, and sometimes even raised the dead." Epiphanius tells us "that some rivers and fountains were annually transformed into wine, as an attestation of which he himself had drunk from one of these fountains and his brother from another." We come now to St. Augustine, who by his theology, reached his dead hand over the nations of the world, and for fifteen hundred years controlled the destinies of hundreds of millions of men. He says, "that whenever a miracle was reported (in the diocese of Hippo), he ordered that a special examination into its circumstances should be made and that the depositions of the witnesses should be read publicly to the people." As one of these officially proved miracles, he says, "that one Gamaliel in a dream revealed to a priest named Lucianus the place where the bones of St. Stephen were buried; that those bones, being thus discovered, were brought to Hippo; that they raised *five dead persons to life*; and that, although only a portion of the miraculous cures they effected had been registered, the certificates drawn up in two years in the diocese and attested by himself (Augustine), were nearly seventy." While St. Ambrose was engaged in his celebrated conflict with the Arian Empress Justina he declared that "it had been revealed to him in a dream that relics were buried in

a spot which he (Ambrose) indicated." The earth being removed, "a tomb was found *filled with blood*, and containing two gigantic skeletons, with their heads severed from their bodies, which were pronounced to be those of St. Gervassius and St. Protassius, two martyrs of remarkable physical dimensions, who were said to have suffered some 300 years before. To prove that they were genuine relics, the bones were brought in contact with a blind man who was restored to sight, and with demons, who were cured; the demons, however, in the first place, *acknowledging that the relics were genuine; that St. Ambrose was the deadly enemy of the powers of hell, that the Trinitarian doctrine was true; and that those who rejected it would infallibly be damned.*"

Augustine tells this with every evidence of implicit faith on his part, even to the coagulated blood that filled the tomb and which remained three hundred years after the bodies had decayed and passed away. He recorded this miracle in his "City of God" and spread the worship of these strange relics throughout Africa. Ambrose was surely too canny a Roman to believe such a story as the above, but the people of Milan greeted the miracles with enthusiasm and gave to the bishop great honor. But the Arian heretics ridiculed the pretended miracles and declared that the *demoniacs* were merely persons who had been bribed by the bishop to act the part.

A modern reader can but wonder how Augustine ever won the place in history which he occupies. His basic doctrine of predestination is an unscientific account of the origin of good and evil carried over in main from the doctrine of Mani and other agnostic philosophers. It is without base in scientific thought and is destined to pass away when it comes in contact with habits of thought based upon an entirely different mode of investigation. Augustine called all true science, such as mathematics and astronomy, as an ungodly prying into the secrets of the Most High. The criticism passed upon Roman society by Pelagius was just and Augustinianism was responsible for a large part of it by introducing and emphasizing a fatalism that removed all personal effort toward righteousness on the ground that man was

under the necessity of doing evil, but could do no good without the help of God, which help was arbitrarily granted or withheld without regard to the part taken by man. Augustine was living toward the end of the Roman empire. That empire had been nominally Christian since 325. The orthodox Christian church had been triumphant for more than a hundred years and had, as the state religion, the strong arm of the government to back it up and enforce its decrees. Yet during that hundred years Catholic Christianity accomplished nothing save to make and keep itself orthodox. The empire of which it was the religious center and force, fell off in population *one third* and finally died of *moral rottenness*, although thoroughly orthodox. This is a very serious arraignment of orthodox Christianity.

Meanwhile condemned Arianism by its abounding zeal, had converted from their old heathen gods and practices to Christianity, the two great Gothic nations, the Burgundians, Vandals, Heruli, and Lombards, together with some half dozen lesser tribes; had translated the Bible into the German language, and had taught them the rudiments of civilization.

The Nestorians were condemned as heretics, their property sequestered, and themselves driven beyond the boundaries of the Roman Empire, but the zeal of the followers of Nestorius was so great that Christianity as they understood it spread rapidly in Assyria, Tartary, and Arabia. They established hospitals and schools of medicine and of sciences and arts wherever they went. They were heretics, but they surpassed the Orthodox Christians in carrying to humanity the message of Christ and in winning them to the Kingdom of God.

CHAPTER XIX

MONASTICISM

CHRISTIANITY had scarcely passed out of the Apostolic Age before devout men began to search for some method of life which would assure to the devotee the attainment of eternal life. The problem to them was, "What human feelings, what loves and interests of this world shall the Christian recognize as according with his faith?" The question was solved by the growth of an indeterminate asceticism within the Christian communities, which, in the fourth century, went forth with power, and peopled the desert with anchorites and monks. Asceticism signifies the practice of acts which exercise the soul in virtue or holiness. The central thought in asceticism is that matter or at least the material and animal side of human nature, is evil. This is the teaching of Neo-Platonism and the Alexandrian School of philosophy. It is also the teaching of Paul. To these people holding to such a belief, all the natural desires of human nature are evil in themselves, not merely in their excesses, but in their normal operation. "The lusts of the flesh," therefore, must be purged away. Man's spiritual nature must be built up and strengthened by the suppression of all the natural appetites. To the ascetic, everything that tended to the upbuilding of the body or the perpetuation of the same, was evil. Normal comfort, not merely its abuse in luxury; normal diet, and not merely gluttony: not only fornication, but all sexual intercourse and every mode of life that may bring desire of it. All these are evil. "Asceticism is that course of life which suppresses this, purifies the soul from sensual desires, and exercises it in virtue." It is starving the body that the soul may live. Christian monasticism was to be ascetic, disciplinary in its proper sense. Its object was to strengthen and purify the monk's soul so

that it would not fail in the struggle with evil and would ultimately win eternal life. It went even farther than this and aimed to fill the soul of the monk with the love of Christ and a desire to help in the establishment of the kingdom of Heaven on earth. It thus happens that while asceticism advocates a manner of life which Jesus never taught or practiced, for He came eating and drinking and proclaiming no fasts or penances or celibacy, yet it had something in accord with the life and teachings of Jesus; the labor and the struggle for the upbuilding of and preparation for entrance into that Kingdom of Heaven which Jesus announced. Some elements of asceticism were, therefore, Christian, others were not.

The ethical ideals of Greek philosophy included a consideration of the entire nature of man. These ideals generally subordinated the physical to the spiritual elements. Plato taught that the soul was supreme and that all matter was of secondary importance to the soul's welfare. The soul must be free and independent of all circumstances. This is the road to the highest human good, and nothing must be allowed to interfere with the attainment of the ideal. This was also the ideal of the stoics, but they were not ascetics as they did not hold that matter was evil, and that the soul should on this account be purged from all sense-contamination. But Neo-platonism of the third century held to the doctrine that matter was evil and so furnished a philosophic basis for asceticism. The gnostic teachers generally held to this idea and it was probably from this source that asceticism drew its philosophy.

In the first three centuries of Christianity ascetic notions were familiar to Hellenically educated people, but it must not be assumed from this that Hellenic ideas were among the direct causes of Christian monasticism. The Greeks were never very seriously given to ascetic practices and those who are named as of Alexandria, like Origen, were Copts, rather than Greeks. The first Christian hermits and monks were not so much influenced by the ideas which came through literary and scholastic channels as they were by the superstitious and ascetic practices of the countries in which they

lived. Egypt contained a mass of lore upon the conflict of Set and his evil followers with Horus and the powers that sought vengeance for the slaying of Osiris. The fantastic accounts of this struggle and the numerous Egyptian visions of the future life no doubt affected the imagination of the Christian hermit and monk, preparing him to evolve the strange and marvellous combats with many devils, and the curious and fantastic notions which he elaborated in regard to the life to come. Pachomius, who is regarded as the first Christian hermit, had been, previous to his conversion, one of a band of recluses of Serapis and, in his subsequent life as a Christian hermit, he was, without doubt greatly influenced by the ascetic practices of his former life. But monasticism was not Egyptian, although it drew many suggestions from its Egyptian environment. The hermits of Egypt carried their asceticism to the very verge of madness; Syrian hermits did the same. Nor can we justify ourselves in claiming that our monasticism came from the far East. The monastic life had been practiced commonly in India for many centuries before the birth of Christ and continued for centuries after. Hindoo influences are traceable in Mesopotamia and eastern Mediterranean lands, but it can not be established that any Brahman or Buddhist influences can be found in Christian monasticism.

In the *Didache* there are hints at the sanction of celibacy for Christian teachers. It seems that at the time of the writing of this work (120) there were men in the church who abstained from marriage; sanction of celibacy appears in Justin Martyr, probably from Greek influence. It is specially commended by Clement of Alexandria. Origen mutilated himself for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake. From the third century on almost every Christian writer places the celibate state above the state of marriage. Precepts were now laid down to apply to virgins and celibates, and certain modes of life recognized as specially fitting for men who belonged to the ascetic class of wandering preachers. These should avoid women, and not lodge in the same houses with them. The celibacy of this wandering preacher class could not well be maintained among an undisciplined body

of men living in communities where temptations assailed them on all sides. It became apparent that ascetics must become anchorites (those who have withdrawn). Thus it was that asceticism betook itself to the desert. Christian monasticism begins. But the solitary life is exceedingly difficult for all save the very few whose souls are kindled with a coal from God's altar. By this natural law the solitaries were gradually forced to associate together for mutual aid. Regulations for communal living grew to fit the conditions.

The evidence of the beginning of this communal life is difficult to find. At the close of the third century an ascetic and scholastic association existed near Alexandria. This was under the direction and leadership of pupils of Origen. Anthony had in the meantime fled to the desert of the Thebaid and began that strange and isolated life which was to be a source of inspiration to thousands although impossible of imitation. He was "the marvellous devil-fighting recluse," who did not take to communal life nor any regulations which he himself did not make. Indeed he formulated no monastic rule although he was surrounded by a multitude of solitaries who emulated his example. Pachomius, a younger contemporary of Anthony, was the first to organize the solitary anchorites into a society. Pachomius was born in upper Egypt about 285, and when a young man began the ascetic life as a member of a Serapis community of recluses. Afterwards he became a Christian and disciple of the well-known Palaemon, an ascetic anchorite. After seven years of correct discipleship, he went to another place. Here there came to him "a vision commanding him to serve the human race and unite them to God." Disciples gathered about him desiring to live under his guidance. The beginning of this new work was made at Taberna on the right bank of the Nile opposite Deuderah. It was here that Pachomius organized his growing society and prescribed a *regula* for the life of its members. These communities increased in numbers by reason of groups of these brethren going forth and founding other monasteries, which were placed under the *regula* of Pachomius, which was the first formulated code of monastic life. This *regula* is very interesting and also in-

structive, as it furnishes the base for all subsequent monastic legislation. It is to be noted that the *regula* did not demand extraordinary austerities, nor impose burdens beyond human strength. It directed that each monk should eat according to his needs, and labor according to his food and strength. Common meals were also prescribed. These were to be eaten in silence. The *regula* also prescribed the manner in which monks should sleep,—three in a cell; also their dress; their fastings, their prayers, their treatment of strangers, and all other matters pertaining to their daily life.

After the death of Pachomius, the most prominent of his successors was St. Basil of Cappadocia, who wrote his celebrated *regulae* in the form of a series of questions and answers. This method does not readily yield to any order. The author does not seem to have aimed at any such and left his *regulae* in a confused and disorderly mass, almost impossible for the ordinary monk to interpret and follow. Notwithstanding their crudity and lack of order they were generally accepted in the East and had a very great influence upon Western monasticism.

“Thus,” says Taylor, “in the East, beginning in Egypt, Christian asceticism leaves society, flees to the desert, secludes itself in hermit cells, and organizes itself in monastic life. At first it is extreme, doing acts of austerity, which could but craze or brutalize; then in communities it regulates itself, restrains its insanities, betakes itself to labor, and in Christian humility bows its neck to obey. It is regulated by the church through Basil.”

Out of monasticism as organized by Pachomius and St. Basil came two fundamental principles which are to be found in every monastic society. These are *labor* and *obedience*. It is easy to see that these principles arose from the necessities. The recluse was not a beggar. He must labor, therefore, he would eat. Associated anchorites must labor for the same reason. And by dividing up their tasks they could labor to better advantage. The rules of these societies enjoined charity and hospitality. To have the means for fulfilling duties, monks must labor. If the monk was to maintain health of body and of mind he must labor. The solitary

anchorite had to labor to live though he had no one to obey. Just so soon, however, as a monastic community was established obedience became as necessary as labor. Rules had to be and those rules had to be rigidly enforced in order that the community might continue to exist. Christianity itself was built upon the words and the example of Jesus. The acceptance of these was essential to membership in the Christian community. The authority was the personal authority of the Lord, thus coming from above and not depending upon human election. The authority of the apostles was from above, also from Jesus; from the apostles this authority passed on downwards in ever-widening circles, ever from above. Thus it was in accordance with Christian custom that monks should yield obedience to an abbot. This was also in accordance with the customs of the East where authority always came from a man who was recognized as a superior. This principle of obedience is assumed in the *regula* of Pachomius and is made explicit in those of Basil. This pious saint, who had a profound influence upon the church of his day, says: "A monk shall not follow his own will, but what is set by others." In the West, where monasticism became dominant and masterful the life of the community was to be the renunciation of the selfish individual will, and the doing of the commands of God, which commands reached them through those who for the monk were God's representatives.

Monasticism grew and flourished on the troubled condition of the world. Christ's athlete went to the desert to train himself to fight sin and so to conquer the evil desires of his flesh. Alas, there were cowards who fled to the desert for fear and put on the garb of the monastic to escape the burdens and the danger of the citizen. There were gentle souls who sought the hermitage to man the work of the world. Thus all classes filled the ranks of monasticism.

The West took monasticism as it was developed in the East and fitted and adapted it to its own needs. It thus became something different. No definite act or single principle distinguishes the Western from the Eastern monasticism. The early founders of monastic orders began their

ascetic lives in every case as solitary hermits with no other aim than to save themselves and become free from the desires of the flesh. Differing from the East, the monasteries, as they came into existence in the West, kept free from the cities and were located in inaccessible places where the lure of the cities' temptations could not find the devotees. The differences which began to distinguish the monasticism of the West from that of the East showed first in the habit of dress. This was because the rigors of the climate of Gaul made it necessary for the Western monk to wear much heavier clothing than did the monastics of northern Egypt and Syria. Food had to vary for the same reason. That which the desert produced was unattainable in the West. Again, the wild extremes of asceticism practiced in Egypt and Syria, the mortification of the flesh, and the various insane practices were not a part of the Western life. Self-control and self-discipline were much stronger than in the East, and the West was much more capable of formulating rules of conduct and in putting them in daily practice. The West also kept more of the youthful energies of life and was, therefore, able to carry out commands and execute enterprises in obedience to authority much better than the East. Centralization of power was characteristic of Western civilization and monasticism was much affected by this tendency. The church gradually looked to home for its head. Monasticism looked in the same way. Western monasticism, from the first, established a complete moral code of daily living for every monk, and this code constituted a systematic education in the Christian life. Here the superiority of Western monasticism is very marked. The modes of ascetic living which have now been emphasized were encouraged by three of the Latin Fathers of the Church, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine. Two hundred years later another great Father of the Latin church, Gregory the Great, arose and became a tremendous power in the establishment of monasticism.

Of the great leaders of Latin Christianity in the fourth century, Ambrose, a member of an old and aristocratic Roman family, who was chosen bishop of the church at Milan without passing through any of the lesser offices, directed a

cloister of monks near Milan. Ambrose was the main influence in the conversion of Augustine, who was easily the most influential churchman of his age. Jerome's influence was chiefly through the letters which he wrote to his admirers. These were extravagant in the extreme in their praise of the virgin life and the urging of his friends to forsake the world and hie to the desert, and to the contemplation of the divine. Augustine was some years the youngest of these three. From the time of his conversion, when near forty, he earnestly advocated virginity. Later in his life he wrote a "libellum" as a *regula* for a convent of north-African nuns. Here is expressed the qualities of Western monasticism. This "libellum" does not enter into any discussion, neither does it aim to be educational. It simply lays down rules for the nuns to follow in their daily life; directs them to have this guide read to them once a week and to give thanks to God if, when the reading is finished, they find that they have kept every precept. Before Augustine wrote this work men with experience had undertaken the task of writing more fully on this theme. Rufinus translated freely the *regulae* of Basil which were written in Greek. He condensed the matter in this clumsy work but did not attempt to rearrange and analyze it.

The practical good sense of the West and its genius in law-making are seen in the orderly development of monasticism and the preparation of it as a way of life to accomplish tasks other than Eastern monks had ever dreamed of. In this work the first man to be noticed is Cassian, who compiled and systematized the materials of monasticism.

Cassian wrote two works upon monasticism. He was thoroughly acquainted with Eastern monasticism and had himself founded a monastery in Gaul. His books are of great value in interpreting the spirit of early monasticism. The earliest of these books was written between the years 419 and 426 and bears the title, *Institutes of Monasticism*. It describes the monastic life in Egypt. Cassian is not to be considered as a legislator, but only as a compiler of necessary information. He gives a systematic presentation of monastic customs rather than any fixed rule of daily

life. But he sets forth the ethical principles of monasticism in such a manner that they can readily be made into a code. Cassian's monastery at Marseilles and other foundations of southern Gaul were centers of spiritual life and light. The most prominent of the bishops of Gaul came from them, Halus, Hilary, and Lupus, and many others. But it was left to Benedict of Nursia to be the first to bring the many monastic institutions under one rule and unite them for aggressive Christian service.

Benedict was born in 480 at Nursia, in the duchy of Spoleto. When a boy he was sent to Rome to be educated. He had not resided long in the ancient city when he became so shocked by the immorality that he saw about him on every side that he fled from the city and took up his residence in a cave near Subiaco, but a short distance from the site of Nero's villa of Sublaquem. It is stated that in his enthusiastic desire to subdue his passions, he was accustomed to strip off his clothing and roll his naked body through the brambles and stones. Persistence in this strenuous method of purification spread his fame abroad and his solitude was invaded by numbers who sought his advice or wished to become his disciples. A neighboring convent of monks chose him as their head but his method of life was too severe for them and in their extremity they resorted to poison (so the story goes) to get rid of him, but the cup broke in his hands and the poison was wasted. Benedict reproved them for their wickedness and went back to his cave. Companies of monks generally clustered around his cave and placed themselves under his direction. Without any effort on his part he gradually became the spiritual adviser and director of a large number. In 530 he deserted his cave and with his disciples moved to Monte Cassino, on the top of which mountain was an ancient temple of Apollo which had become the center of worship of a body of ignorant peasants. These were converted by Benedict who destroyed the sacred grove and tore down the temple. Upon this site he erected his famous monastery and thus "arose that great model republic which gave its laws to almost the whole of Western monasticism." "On the summit of a mountain still inaccessible

to carriages, overlooking the peaceful Liris, and with the wild crags of Abruzzi as a background, he raised his foundation, and installed his monks within the very walls of the Sun God's temple." For over twelve years Benedict here presided over the monks who followed him up to his new and wild home; here he wrote his famous *regula*, using the works of Cassian and Basil as a base, at the same time that Justinian promulgated his justly celebrated Code. Peacefully he carried on his work, with brief visits to his sister Scholastica, who was herself a recluse hard by. He died in 543. Benedict is one of the central figures of his age, perhaps the greatest character in the mediaeval church. He was "a man with subtle insight into human nature, with mild firmness, and with large views; he humanized monasticism, and brought it into living relations with Christian progress and civilization. Compared with all other monastic rules the Benedictine is noted for its mildness and evangelical tone."

The *regula* of Benedict gained universal dominion among the converts of the West, superseding all other authorities. For this dominion there were potent reasons that reached out even beyond the practical value of the rule itself. In the first place the *regula* was authoritatively recommended by Gregory the Great. Wherever the authority of this great pope reached, there also went his influence in favor of monasticism and the *regula* of Benedict. The successors of Gregory also zealously favored it. This favor of the popes, however, was bestowed, not through any favoritism, but because the *regula* was the best. It is, no doubt, due to the excellence of Benedict's rule and the beauty of his life, that of all the monkish orders, the Benedictine has had the most honorable history, "not chargeable with the bloodguiltiness of the Dominicans, the craft of the Jesuits, or the fanaticism of the Beggar Friars." The *regula* of Benedict may be divided under three heads, piety, labor, study.

Examined under these heads in the order given, we can do no better than to quote the part of the rule on piety: "We should supplicate with all devotion and purity God, who is Lord of all. And let us know that we are heard, not for much speaking, but for purity of heart and compunction of

tears. And, therefore, prayer ought to be brief and pure, unless, perchance, it be prolonged by the influence of the inspiration of divine grace. When assembled together, then, let the prayer be, altogether brief; and, the sign being given by the prior, let all rise together." Benedict was very fond of the Psalms and arranged that every week they should be said or sung throughout. After giving some attention to the order or arrangement of the Psalter, Benedict says: "If this distribution of Psalms be not pleasing to any one he shall arrange it otherwise if he think best, provided he sees to it that, under all circumstances, every week the entire Psalter, to the number of one hundred and fifty psalms, is said. And at Sunday, at vigils, it shall always begin anew. For those monks show a too scanty proof of their devotion who during the course of a week sing less than the Psalter with its customary canticles, inasmuch as we read that the holy Fathers in one day rigidly fulfilled that which we — lukewarm as we are — might perform in an entire week." Beyond the Psalms, Books of the Old and New Testament of divine authority shall be read at the vigils; but also expositions of them which have been made by the most celebrated orthodox teachers and Catholic Fathers. The monks must also learn how to be silent and to put a guard upon their lips. "Idle words and those exciting laughter we condemn in all places with a lasting prohibition; nor do we permit a disciple to open his mouth for such sayings." In the presence of this the monk must stand with head inclined, his looks fixed upon the ground, remembering every hour that he is guilty of his sins. Let him think that he is already being presented before the tremendous judgment of God, saying always to him in his heart what that publican of the gospel, fixing his eyes on the earth, said, "Lord, I am not worthy, I a sinner, so much as to lift up mine eyes unto heaven." In the *regula* holiness, love, Christ, were exalted above everything else. "As there is an evil zeal of bitterness which separates from God and leads to hell, so there is a good zeal which separates from vice and leads to God and eternal life. Let the monks therefore exercise this zeal with the most fervent love; let them mutually surpass them-

selves in honor; let them not patiently tolerate their weakness, whether of body or character; let them vie with each other in showing obedience; let no one pursue what he thinks useful for himself, but rather what he thinks useful for another; let them love the brotherhood with a chaste love; let them fear God; let them love their abbot with a sincere and humble love; let them prefer nothing whatever to Christ who leads us alike to eternal life."

Touching work, Benedict shows a profound insight into human character, and he gave to monasticism in this, its redeeming quality. He might have taught monks to sing all the psalms each week, to read the Bible in set amount each day, to pray always, and to keep their eyes on the ground. Had he left them in idleness monasticism would have died early. He set forth this golden rule: "Idleness is the enemy of the soul. And therefore to fixed times the brothers ought to be occupied in manual labor." It was due to this that the Benedictine order became the pioneer of civilization. "The Benedictines were the great road-makers of the Middle Ages. They cleared a way through the forests, drained lakes and filled in the swamps, and reclaimed to fertility valuable lands. They were also the pioneers of agriculture. Theodolf's plow and Dustin's anvil were far holier relics than decayed rags and pieces of bones. The monks taught the German races how to lay aside the bow and the spear, and how to use the spade and the chisel. In a turbulent and warlike time they were the teachers of the dignity of labor and the fruitful arts of peace. The reclaiming of the river Thames to commerce and history, is a notable instance of the triumph of the Benedictines. In barbaric times the Thames was a mere tidal swamp bounded on either side by ranges of hills, to which the waves reached at high water, and shrunk at low water into a tortuous muddy ditch, with no particular bank, and leaving on either side an expanse of pestilential mud." This useless and harmful expanse was converted by some directing genius who engineered one of the most herculean works of history into an artificial river. In doing this he changed the course of history and turned the commercial supremacy of the world

into Anglo-Saxon hands. This was done by the Benedictine monks. Of old their monasteries lined the banks of the Thames.

While the great work of the Benedictine order has been in reforming and beautifying the world by their labor, yet in the third division, that of study, the monks were scarcely behind. Hand in hand with labor went study. The day was fairly well divided between work and study. The summer months were fairly well given up to manual labor in the fields and the shops, though the physically weak were not required to do heavy field work. The winter months, when little outside work could be done, were spent in study. All books taken from the library had to be entirely read through. Study hours were to be kept by all. No idle monk could wander about disturbing others. This one rule rigidly enforced filled the order with artists, writers and scholars. In the scriptarium under competent instruction and supervision monks copied antiquity and preserved for us the pagan and Christian classics. Ancient texts were revised. In this manner the work of Pliny, Sallust, Macrobius, and the orations of Cicero against Verres have been preserved to us. The Benedictine Cassiodorus gave rules for the guidance of his brothers in their studies. He had collected a library of the Greek and Latin Fathers, the church historians, the geographers and grammarians whose works were then extant and held in esteem. He also collected various mediaeval books for the assistance of those monks who had the care of the infirmary. All these books the monks were required to read. The Benedictine order either founded or preserved every eminent school of learning of modern Europe. It held almost universal sway throughout Europe and England in the tenth century. Milman says: "In every rich valley, by the side of every clear and deep stream, rose a Benedictine abbey, and usually the most convenient, fertile and peaceful spot in any part of England will be found to have been a site of one of them."

In 1880 the Benedictine order celebrated throughout the entire world the fourteen hundredth anniversary of the birth of its founder. This was indeed a memorable day in the

world's history. Eyes were turned toward Monte Cassino as the center of attraction and for a moment its tragic history was flashed forth to a world that has grown away from the ideal which that time-stained and grey old structure stood for. All things human are subject to inevitable change. The monastery was destroyed by the Lombards in 589; in 884 by the Saracens; in 1030 by the Normans, and in 1349 by an earthquake. In 1866 the corporation of the monastery was dissolved. A few monks still cling as solitary tenants to the grey old walls and the beetling cliffs of their noble but wasted historic dwelling.

The emperor Valens sought to counteract the monastic enthusiasm, thinking, with some truth, that it withdrew from active life persons whose services were needed. He forbade those who had civil duties to perform, to take the vows. Somewhat later legal recognition was extended to monasteries as corporations but in other respects monks were subject to the civil law and retained their rights of property, and personal and family rights, in so far as they had not formally renounced these. Valentinus III, by rescript, forbade the admission of slaves and colonists to the cloister. For a time, the monks were not bound by any ecclesiastical law to their mode of life, and could leave the cloister at any time. The council of Chalcedon took this matter into consideration and forbade monks to leave their monastery or to take up any secular offices. Athanasius used his influence to change this and monasteries became nurseries to the ministry. Monks were next ordained and so placed under the jurisdiction of the bishops. It thus became established that, except in the internal affairs of the monastery, and matters coming naturally under the control of the abbot, the authority of the bishop was superior in the diocese.

CHAPTER XX

THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

JESUS founded no new school. His method of teaching was the same as that followed by the Jewish rabbis. He gathered about him a number of pupils (disciples) and proceeded to give them oral instruction, expounding to them by familiar methods his own concepts of life and duty. His message was new; his method was old and common. Plato used it more than three hundred years before, strolling about the shady walks of the Academy in company with the eager and enthusiastic young men who hung upon his words. The more prosaic and scientific Aristotle followed the same method. It was, in fact, the method of antiquity. There had been schools of the prophets in the remotest period of Jewish history whose young men grouped themselves about certain great prophetic characters like Elijah or Amos, and imbibed their spirit, studied the sacred records with zeal and, after a period of intensive training, went forth as teachers of their people. In the apostolic ministry of Paul he had associated with him on his journeys young men like Timothy and Titus, who sat at his feet, as Saul had previously sat at the feet of Gamaliel, to learn wisdom from him and, subsequently, to carry on the missionary work which he himself was compelled to drop for the martyr's crown.

Necessity forced upon the Christians of the second century the investigation and study of their sacred writings while contact with Greek philosophers compelled a broader culture and more inquiring spirit than had been theirs in the infancy of their faith. While the ordinary schools of the empire were depended upon for the elements of education which would fit the Christian youth for satisfying the demands of business, there grew up toward the end of the second century three great educational centers for the training

of young men in the knowledge of the sacred writings, and fundamental teachings of Jesus and the Apostles. In these centers the foremost Christian theologians gathered about them in their humble dwellings young men who were in training for the Christian ministry. These they instructed in the deeper meanings of the Christian faith and fitted them for the broad field of evangelization. Of these centers two were in the Eastern Church, those of Alexandria and Antioch; one was in the Western Church, that of Carthage.

The first and most important of these schools was that of Alexandria. It was here in the great emporium of the empire where the East and the West met in friendly rivalry. Hellenic culture and philosophy here met and mingled with that of the Orient. Here Philo merged the religion and theology of Judaism with Greek speculation and scholarship. Here the Greek conception of Christianity, such as that of Justin Martyr and Tatian, placed itself at the service of the church. The ecclesiastical philosophy of religion which at this time developed at Alexandria was in close and vital touch with that Neo-Platonism which Ammonius Saccas and his disciple, Plotinus, developed from the teaching of Plato. These taught that intelligence was evolved from the Primordial Being (God), and from this intelligence came the first soul. Of this evolution matter was the lowest form. They taught that the aim and end of all philosophy was to raise the mind above all dialectic process, enable it to grasp the absolute, and thus lead man on to a union with Primordial Being. Man while on earth could, by leading an acceptable life and constantly meditating upon God, arrive at so high a degree of contemplation as to become, as it were, continually inspired by the Deity.

Without doubt the first Christian school of Alexandria was a catechetical institution where children and adults recently admitted to Christian fellowship were instructed in the elements of Christian faith. In a brief time, however, this elementary school developed into one where something more than the mere elements was taught. The formal Socratic method was followed out into a complete system and there finally arose a great school where men came from all

quarters of the globe to listen to the great teachers who had made their names familiar throughout the learned world. These teachers were self-supporting, living upon the small fees which they received from their pupils and gifts from sympathetic friends who had means. The Alexandrian school had no fine buildings and no endowment. The church was not responsible for the support of the teachers nor for the orthodoxy of their views. After it became fully established in strength and reputation it became a voluntary organization, presided over by some great teacher and taking its theological color from his own individuality. The teachers wore the traditional mantle of the philosophers to indicate that they did not teach as preachers but as Christian philosophers. This custom was followed by both Athanagoras and Justin, though the latter was not an Alexandrian teacher.

Philip of Side, writing in the sixth century, says that Athanagoras was the founder of the Catechetical School of Alexandria but this is very doubtful. Nothing indeed is known of Athanagoras. It is generally accepted that Pantænus, who appears about 180, was the founder of this school. He was a native of Athens and was thoroughly educated in Greek literature, rhetoric and philosophy. Before he was converted to Christianity he had reached middle life and was a Stoic philosopher. Upon his conversion he removed to Alexandria and gave his time and energy to the instruction of Christian youth. Little is known of him or the details of his life as he left no memoranda of himself and all the early Christian historians seem to have passed him by. But Clement was his pupil and left behind him the testimony that he surpassed all his contemporaries. He gave abundant proof of the depth and extent of his learning, of his intellectual powers and talent and capacity as a lecturer. He had the burning zeal of an evangelist, and made a tour to India in the interest of the church about the year 190, ten years after his own conversion. He wrote a commentary upon many of the books of the Old and New Testaments, but his chief service was in his lectures to a circle of disciples whom he gathered around him and whom he inspired by his profound thought and eloquence which lived on in the

traditions of the school as long as it existed. Of his writings only a few fragments remain. Pantaenus died in 191 and was succeeded by the most brilliant of his disciples, *Titus Flavius Clement*.

Before Pantaenus went on his journey to India he had for some time an ardent pupil who so advanced by his instruction that he was made temporary head of the school in Pantaenus' absence, and upon the death of this great teacher was appointed as his successor by Bishop Demetrius. This was *Titus Flavius Clement*, a pagan by birth and training, who was probably born in Athens of a wealthy and distinguished family. He travelled far and wide in the pursuit of knowledge, through Greece, Lower Italy, Syria, Palestine and Egypt. He was a man of mature years and distinguished as a philosopher and scholar before he met with Pantaenus and was led by him to adopt the Christian faith. Clement's life was rather uneventful. We know that he succeeded Pantaenus as the head of the school in 191 and retained this position until the persecutions of the Christians under Severinus, in 202, when he fled from Alexandria to avoid martyrdom, and nothing further is heard from him for a period of ten years when he becomes the bearer of a letter to the church at Antioch from Alexander, bishop of a see in Cappadocia, an old pupil of his. This letter speaks of him in the warmest terms as a man of great services to the church. He seems to have returned to Alexandria where he died in about 220 although this is far from certain.

Of the writings of Clement only fragments remain, four only surviving in complete form. Of these the first is his Exhortation to the Greeks. Its purpose was the conversion of pagans. For this reason he was quick to recognize the value of Greek philosophy and the harmony of the philosophic teachings with Christianity. His condemnation of Greek literature and Greek gods is in main like all the other apologists and makes very little appeal to the modern reader. The *Pedagogue* is little else than a copy of Stoic moral teachings, good, but not original. The third work of Clement is his *What Rich Man Shall Be Saved?* This is a small but practical treatise upon the right use of riches. The

fourth is his *Stromata* (patchwork), a collection of comments and essays upon doctrine and practical theology in a sort of hit-and-miss style without any central thought. These writings have been held in very high esteem by the church and their author must have been a man of marked ability or he would not have been able to impress his personality upon such men as Origen, or long to hold them as disciples.

While the theological school of Alexandria grew to a great size under the guidance and teachings of Clement, under his distinguished and brilliant pupil, Origen, it reached its greatest renown. Origen was born in the city of Alexandria of a wealthy Coptic family in the year 185. Very early in life he manifested remarkable ability, far beyond his years, and was given every advantage of literary and scientific education by his father, Leonidas, who was an earnest Christian of great learning. In the persecutions which swept over Alexandria, Origen's father received the martyr's crown, and the boy, who was intensely religious, was anxious to suffer along with him. Since this was not permitted, he wrote to his father, who was then in prison, exhorting him to "be of good heart" and "not to allow the affection he bore his relatives to weaken his purpose." The family property was confiscated and Origen's mother was left in poverty with several small children. Origen desired to give up his studies and work to support his mother, but friends, recognizing his great ability, made provision for the family and kept the boy at his studies. He had the benefit of studying under great masters, having Pantaenus and Clement as his teachers. He also attended the lectures of Ammonius Saccas, the Neo-Platonic philosopher, and this teacher exerted a great influence over him throughout his entire life. When but eighteen years of age (A. D. 203) he was appointed the successor of Clement as the head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria. He now gave his attention to the instruction of pagans in Christianity. In his zeal to carry out literally the counsels of purification contained in the Gospels, and possibly to protect himself from temptations, he overzealously went to the extreme of mutilating himself. The

intensity and universality of Origen's mind soon led him beyond the elementary work as catechist to the young and untrained. He called Herodas, one of his own pupils, to take up the instruction of the beginners while he himself passed on to the more advanced work of lecturing on Biblical interpretations and the harmonizing of Platonic philosophy with the teachings of Jesus. He was intense in toil as in faith. Jerome is authority for the statement that he wrote 2,000 books. While this is certainly beyond credence, the impression which he made upon his contemporaries was an impression "of enormous labor and enormous production." He wrote commentaries or sermons upon nearly every book of the Old and New Testament. His knowledge of Greek literature and philosophy was profound although he was not himself a Greek. He was not contented with books alone, nor listening to the lectures of great masters, but visited many other countries where he continued his studies and observations. He made long journeys in the interest of the church, one to Arabia, another to Rome, and still another to Syrian Antioch. In 228 he made a fourth journey to Palestine where he lectured and taught at Caesarea and at Jerusalem upon the invitation of the bishops of those cities. Here he was ordained as a presbyter without the consent of the Bishop of Alexandria, Demetrius, in whose jurisdiction he belonged. This brought upon him the continued enmity of Demetrius who summoned a synod at Alexandria which excommunicated Origen and forbid his further teachings at Alexandria; this for doctrinal errors and illegal ordination. The errors in doctrine were found in Origen's celebrated work on *First Principles*. The opinions which he was charged with holding and which were drawn from his works were these: (1) That there is an inequality between the Persons of the Holy Trinity; (2) That human souls preexisted before the creation of Adam; (3) That the soul of Christ preexisted with other human souls; (4) That the resurrection nature of mankind will not include material bodies, but that the resurrected body will be a refined and spiritual substance; (5) That the punishments of the wicked and of evil spirits will not be eternal; (6) That all intelligent

beings tend toward reabsorption into the One Fountain of Being from which they sprung."

Thus ended the work of Origen in Alexandria and his connection with that famous school, but although in exile he was great, perhaps greater than ever. He was everywhere in the East received with sympathy and the action of Demetrius and his friends condemned. He now founded a new school at Caesarea, in Palestine, and began again his intellectual pursuits in which he had taken so much pleasure. This city, during the lifetime of Origen, surpassed Alexandria as a center of Christian learning and students flocked to this new center to listen to lectures upon the interpretation of Scripture. Whenever a dispute arose in the church Origen was invited to be present and it was frequently his good fortune to convince the heretic of his error and to restore peace in the church. It was here that Gregory Thaumaturgus, subsequently bishop of Neocaesarea, and his brother, Athenodorus, first became his disciple.

The persecution under Maximinus the Thracian interrupted the labors of Origen who, at the instigation of his friends, fled to Caesarea in Cappadocia and took refuge with his friend Firmilian, bishop of that city. After the death of Maximilian, in 238, he returned to Caesarea and again took up his work with added enthusiasm and success. He now gave his strength to the study of the Scriptures and although he was given over to the allegorical interpretation as the only correct method, still he is justly regarded as the Father of philological and grammatical exegesis.

In his old age, after fifty years of teaching and writing, he gave to the world his *Refutation of Celsus*, which has been universally regarded as the most able of all the Apologies, and his *Commentaries of St. Matthew and on the Minor Prophets*, the most important of all his works. He was cast into prison in the Decian persecution, in 250-251, and was so broken by imprisonment and torture that he died in 252, in his sixty-ninth year, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Tyre.

The works of Origen may be classified in five departments: *First, Textual Criticism.* It is here that his greatest work

belongs, his *Hexapla*, a masterpiece of philological industry and skill at which he wrought for twenty-seven years. He undertook this great labor in order to correct the Septuagint. "He arranged the work in six columns. First he placed the Hebrew in Greek characters, then the Septuagint, and, last, the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotian." This vast work was in fifty volumes, filled with textual annotations in support of what Origen believed to be the correct reading. It was probably destroyed by the Arabs when they captured Caesarea in 653. *Second, in Exegesis.* Origen wrote numerous commentaries on entire biblical books, homilies, sermons upon special passages, and scholia or brief critical discussions on difficult passages, following the historical method. In this field he was the master of all the antenicene expositors. *Third, in Doctrine and Apologetics,* he wrote *The Principles, The Carpets, The Resurrection,* and *Against Celsus.* *Fourth,* his works on *practical theology.* These comprise his exhortation to Martyrdom, and on Prayer, the latter work being an exposition of the Lord's Prayer. *Fifth,* his correspondence. This was extensive but only two letters remain: one to Julius Africanus, and one to Gregory of Neo-Caesarea.

The influence of Origen made itself felt in the whole field of Greek theology throughout the third and fourth centuries. He seems to have hastened to gather together into his capacious mind everything which mankind struggled after to attain, and for this reason all subsequent theology has been pleased "to link itself on to one side or the other of his rich spiritual heritage."

The Alexandrian school rapidly declined after the departure of Origen who was its greatest ornament. Heracles, a pupil of Origen, Dionysius the Great, Pierius Theognostus, and Peter Martyr were his successors in turn. Of these Dionysius was the most important. He became the head of the school in 233, two years after Origen's exile, but he was unable to restore its former greatness although he was **a** man of great force of character and ability. He wrote voluminously upon exegesis and doctrinal theology. Noth-

ing remains of these works save the quotations made by Eusebius and Athanasius.

Much younger than the school of Alexandria, but tremendously influential for more than a hundred years, was the famous Christian school of Antioch in Syria. These two schools, like the great patriarchates in which they were located, were continuously pitted against each other, and for these opposing functions the characteristics of the two schools were quite remarkably fitted. Antioch was thoroughly scientific and rational. It, therefore, at once seized upon the human and natural elements of Christianity and saw in it the meaning and truth of man and of the world. The temper of Alexandria was spiritual, intuitive, and theological; to it Christianity was the revelation and manifestation of God. This fundamental divergence is seen in their methods of biblical interpretation. *The Exegesis of the Old and New Testaments*, which was the special pride of the great teachers of Antioch, was literal, grammatical, and historical, such as a modern writer would use. The exposition of Pantaenus, Clement, Origen and their successors in Alexandria was allegorical and mystical. At Antioch the question which the teacher endeavored to answer was, what did the human authors intend to say? at Alexandria, what did the Holy Spirit mean to convey? The founder of the School of Antioch was Lucian, a priest of Antioch, a man of great literary attainments and thoroughly conversant with the scriptures. He gave to this school both name and respectability by reason of his activity as a scholar and teacher. He was educated in biblical exegesis in the East-Syrian school of Edessa, but showed also the influence of the theology of Origen which may have been gained in the school of Caesarea although this is not certain. Lucian gave his life work to the cause of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis, especially in connection with the text of the Septuagint, a critical edition of which he prepared. In this task he was aided by Dorotheus, a fellow presbyter and distinguished Hebrew scholar. Lucian's recension of the Septuagint found circulation in the greater number of the Greek

churches from Constantinople to Antioch. The scientific method of Lucian became the characteristic of the school he founded. The prosperous period of the school of Antioch extended from the time of Lucian, who was martyred in the persecutions of Maximin, 311, to the year 429. It presented Christianity in its most practical form, putting a plain grammatical interpretation upon the Scriptures and placing a limit to inspiration. It accepted the dry formalism of Aristotle but rejected all other philosophy, thus radically differing from the Alexandrians. Among the prominent men educated at this school were Eusebius, Bishop of Emesa; Cyril of Jerusalem; Ephraem the Syrian, the author of numerous hymns who died at Edessa some time after the year 379; Diodore, Bishop of Tarsus; Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia, and his brother Polychromius; St. John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople, the inspired orator and "glory of the priesthood," and Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus.

These two great established schools, Alexandria and Antioch, pursued, each its own respective traditions and system, the one in a certain sense opposing, yet supplementing the other. Most of the controversies that arose in the church had their roots in one or the other of these great theological schools.

While the Alexandrian school was laboring to build a theological system upon the framework of philosophy, thus making use of the old Greek masters of the Platonic and Stoic schools, and harmonizing their teachings with those of Jesus, and the school of Antioch, using the scientific and historical method, was busy building a theological system upon the framework of Aristotle, there arose a school of North Africa which rejected the teachings of both these schools and followed out a system of its own. This school of North Africa gave to Latin Christianity its prevailing theological type. It was really the heir to the teachings of Irenaeus and other writers of Asia Minor. Although these men formed no distinct school yet they insisted in a very positive manner that the attempts to harmonize philosophy and Christianity were contrary to the very spirit of the latter. The African school started from this base and

went to a far greater extreme. The whole Western Church was indebted to Carthage for its first doctrinal impulse and structure. It was Quintus Septimius Tertullianus, a priest of Carthage, who was the chief agent in the establishment and development of this school. He outdid all his predecessors in protesting against the union of theology and philosophy. Although himself a philosopher and rhetorician he drew a broad line of demarkation between the literature of the Latin Church of the West and all profane science and philosophy. This he did with his characteristic originality and vigor. "*What,*" he says, "*is there in common between Athens and Jerusalem, between the Academy and the Church?*" His language showed the strength and originality of his mind. Where the Latin was deficient in the expression of Christian thought, he invented terms that would convey his meaning. His language has formed the basis of the severe and precise phraseology of the Christian dogmas. He has generally been believed to have been the teacher of St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, a theologian of the same school of thought and a man remarkable for his clearness and vigor of style and the brilliancy of his mind. But he had not the originality of his master and his writings show him to be a mere polisher of the Tertullian gems.

These master-minds of the African Church were succeeded by Arnobius and Lactantius, the latter of whom has been surnamed the Christian Cicero.

An exact and literal interpretation of the Bible; a shrinking from all theological speculation; an aversion to Gnosticism in every form, and a persistent energy in the organization and development of the practical and evangelistic side of the church were the fundamental characteristics of this school.

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